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BULGARIA

ACADEMICIANS DISCUSS TRAINING OF SCIENTIFIC CADRES CRITICALLY

Sofia NOVO VREME in Bulgarian No 1, Jan 77 pp 92-119

[Part 1 of round table discussion: "For High Quality and Effectiveness in Scientific Activities and Training"]

[Text] On 5 November 1976, the editors of NOVO VREME sponsored a discussion entitled "For High Quality and Effectiveness in Scientific Activities and Education."

The following participated in the round table discussion: Prodan Stoyanov, head, Science and Education Department, BCP Central Committee, and candidate of pedagogical sciences; Niko Yakhiel, professor, doctor of philosophical sciences, and head, Science Sociology Section, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences Sociology Institute; Angel Angelov, senior scientific associate, and deputy minister of electronics and electrical engineering; Khristo Khristov, academician, and Bulgarian Academy of Sciences deputy chairman; Ivan Todorov, academician; Dobrin Spasov, professor, and head of the Logic, Ethics, and Aesthetics Chair, Sofia University; Azarya Polikarov, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences corresponding member, and director of the Scientific Information Center of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences; Gencho Pir'ov, corresponding member, Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, psychologist; and Rashko Rashkov, secretary, Sofia City BCP Committee, and candidate of economic sciences.

The moderator of the discussion was Professor Nikolay Iribadzhakov, NOVO VREME editor in chief. In his opening remarks, he noted the increasing role of science in the building of a developed socialist society and its great importance in the solution of a number of theoretical and practical problems stemming from the decisions of the 11th BCP Congress and the July BCP Central Committee Plenum. Science is implementing this role, which is inseparably linked with the development of the educational process.

It is entirely natural that the broad spectrum of problems related to the effectiveness and quality of scientific activities and education could not be covered in a single discussion. We hope, however, that this will stimulate the further comprehensive study and practical solution of them.

The following is a part of the discussion.

Prodan Stoyanov: The July Plenum and the New Requirements Governing Scientific and Training-Educational Work

At the start of this discussion, let me voice the satisfaction felt by the Science and Education Department of the BCP Central Committee at this initiative on the part of the editors, in organizing a discussion of a central, a cardinal problem, that of the effectiveness and quality of scientific activities and education. I say problem for despite the dynamic development which has occurred, particularly since the April 1976 BCP Central Committee Plenum, the new social requirements have forced us to make a thorough review and assessment of the present status of our scientific and educational front.

Naturally, we are familiar with the assessments of the level reached and with the many trends governing the development of our scientific and educational front. They are contained in Comrade Zhivkov's reports to the 11th party congress and July plenum, and his speech to the plenum of the Burgas Okrug Party Committee, as well as a number of basic documents approved by the Central committee in the course of the preparations for the 11th party congress.

The party organizations and labor collectives of scientific and educational institutions held meetings for the explanation and implementation of the July plenum decisions. However, we are at the beginning of a process of reevaluating achievements. We have not yet elaborated the activities of all units, in accordance with plenum criteria. However, we can boldly state that its decisions will be a powerful booster of processes which will enhance the effectiveness and quality of scientific and educational work. We are provided with the reasons for such optimism by the scientific workers and teachers themselves, who welcomed the approach and formulations approved at the July plenum with profound satisfaction, and expressed their willingness to engage in active and creative participation in the implementation of the decisions.

Also indicative is the fact that at most of the meetings, party and non-party members made statements even more critical and self-critical than the reports submitted by the party committees and managements of the institutes and schools themselves.

The question of achieving substantially greater effectiveness in science and education cannot be resolved by means of sporadic activities and individual measures. The reason is that the conversion from extensive to intensive development of scientific activities, which we must now carry out, affects all parameters and factors which characterize and determine such activities. A preliminary condition in this connection is the elaboration of the specific ways and means of applying the approach substantiated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov at the July plenum in the field of science and education. I would suggest that the editors of NOVO VREME include consideration of this matter in their topic plans.

We know the tremendous importance which the application of the program-target and comprehensive approaches have taken on in scientific research. Increased collectivism in scientific activities, as well as concern for the prompt practical utilization of research, now being undertaken by entire collectives, are in conflict with the established style of work in scientific activities. This is another problem the various aspects of which merit consideration.

Actually, the current system of incentives and assessment of scientific activities, including the established procedure in awarding scientific degrees and titles, does not encourage the systematic application of the program-target and comprehensive approaches to scientific research sufficiently. The meetings held in connection with the July plenum show that this is a problem demanding a most urgent and effective solution.

I would also like to raise the question of cadres in science and the enhancement of their qualitative composition. Beyond question, this is related to a variety of factors including problems of a normative and organizational nature, and the criteria used in assessing the labor effectiveness of scientific workers. Currently, the Science and Education Department of the BCP Central Committee and the Committee for Science, Technical Progress, and Higher Education are drafting a number of documents designed to improve the mechanism for accelerating the process of scientific intensification and improving the qualitative composition of scientific cadres.

However, the intensive and effective work of the party committees and organizations and the managements of scientific and educational institutions to enhance the sense of responsibility and create an atmosphere of intolerance of weaknesses and shortcomings in the lives of many collectives remains the main factor.

It may seem paradoxical, but the scientific organization of scientific work is perhaps the weak spot, one of the main obstacles to a new upsurge in the work. It is an inexhaustible source of conflict situations and of many negative phenomena in the life of scientific collectives. There is an acute need for scientific managers combining scientific competence with the ability to organize and assist in the establishment of a proper sociomental climate.

Priority is currently being given to problems in the organization of science on all levels. These are not merely practical problems, but problems requiring profound scientific study.

Allow me also to set forth several considerations regarding the training and qualification of cadres: by this I mean mainly the cadres we train in the schools.

At the present stage, the problem of reinforcing the working class with graduates of secondary schools and even higher educational institutions is most acute. This process must make a maximal contribution to the implementation of the objectively increasing role of the working class in the stage of building developed socialism. Unlike the situation in the past, the new worker reinforcements must have secondary and, in some areas, even higher education, with solid professional and ideological training, and a developed Marxist-Leninist outlook. By virtue of a number of familiar reasons, the fulfillment of this function by the schools, secondary schools in particular, is being hindered and is not entirely consistent with social requirements.

Our secondary school education still directs the students mainly toward mental professions, and away from the realm of material output and work in the service industry. Under the influence of scientific and technical progress changes have taken place, and will take place even further, in the nature of productive labor itself, and in the technical and technological levels of output. At the same time, by inertia, the old concepts and attitudes toward productive labor, particularly on the part of parents, continue to exert a serious negative impact on the growing generation.

We are forgetting a basic concept of Marxist-Leninist pedagogy, namely that education is, above all, a practical process. In other words, the molding of a personality calls for its engagement in active transforming work.

A basic principle which ensures the implementation of the scientific concept of the molding of the personality is that of linking training and education with productive labor. The history of the use of such concepts in our country is quite indicative. In theory we are entirely in favor of such concepts. In fact, however, it is as though we apply them quite timidly and with restrictions. The result is that contacts between the growing generation, including university students with labor are sporadic and unsystematic. The outcome is that the school does not adequately contribute to the development of the qualities and relations among the growing generation in which our society is vitally interested. At the same time we criticize phenomena stemming from the shortcomings of the developed labor education system and the vocational guidance of the students. The time has come to surmount once and for all the scholastic approach to educational work in our schools and to the

process of molding the young personality. The reasons in this case are mainly subjective: we are still faced with conservatism in practical work, scientific research, and education. This situation prevailing in our country becomes even less tolerable against the background of the systematic Marxist-Leninist policy applied by our party in the field of the upbringing and communist education of the young generation. This is a policy which constitutes the main distinctive feature of the April line in the field of education.

The formulations which the BCP Central Committee first secretary has expressed on problems of education and communist upbringing, in a series of documents, presume the systematic application under present-day conditions of Marx's idea of combining training and education with productive toil as a decisive prerequisite not only in training the necessary cadres needed by the national economy but for the all-round development of the individual as well.

N. Yakhiel: Since Comrade Prodan Stoyanov is head of the party's Central Committee Science and Education Department, allow me to ask him a question which may not be directly related to his statement. Is it correct for the status, wages, and prestige of the engineers and other specialists working in industrial laboratories and engaged in experimental design and technological developments to be based, above all, on their scientific title and degree rather than the effectiveness of their activities precisely as specialists--engineers, technologists, and so on? We note in our country the striving among some such cadres to organize their work in such a way that they will be less maximally effective in the implementation of production tasks rather than complete the proper dissertation and essentially engage in publications so that they may obtain a corresponding scientific status. Let us acknowledge that a number of our legal acts encourage such specialists to direct their activities precisely along this line--write dissertations, absolutely earn a scientific title and scientific degree--since this mainly determines their official position and wages.

Prodan Stoyanov: Actually, the question as asked by Comrade Yakhiel contains the only correct answer to the question. Allow me merely to add that at present we are working on improving the system of awarding scientific degrees and titles mainly with a view to enhancing the quality of scientific research, including the aspect discussed by Comrade N. Yakhiel. Amendments have been suggested as a result of which the labor of scientific cadres will be assessed better in accordance with their factual contribution. For the time being I shall limit myself to this answer. We are ready to submit our plans to the comrades who would like to express their views on our proposals.

Academician Khristo Khristov: Allow me to add the following on the question of labor and labor education. All of us agree that labor is the foundation of life and that nothing good can be created without work. We

must raise the young people in a spirit of love and respect for labor. We must accustom them to work. For this reason the present trend in education of sending students to work periodically at enterprises and plants is unquestionably correct and useful. What I would like to point out, however, is that if labor is to have a favorable educational importance it must be economically justified. At any given moment the students must feel that working at an enterprise or plant they are doing something socially useful. Under present-day circumstances, however, this is not easy. It requires a high degree of organization.

In the past the situation was different. One worked simply with one's hands or using primitive and inexpensive tools. For example, the people used picks and shovels. Such instruments had to be available and should on any given day less people come to work and some of the shovels or picks remain unused no particular losses would be incurred. Today, however, we are working with complex and expensive earth removal equipment. Each earth digging machine requires a skillful mechanic. Should he be unavailable the machine would remain idle. This represents a loss to the economy since considerable funds have been invested in this machine. Should two people appear, the second one would be almost totally idle. The situation in a modern plant, in an enterprise, is identical. Each position needs a certain number of specialists, people familiar with the work. This requires high level organization and, in any case, a longer work term. If any work is to have an educational significance it is absolutely necessary to use this time with economically justified activities.

Niko Yakhiel. Multiplication Effect and Scientific Effectiveness

I agree with the present assessment that the discussion organized by the editors of NOVO VREME is exceptionally important and topical, for it applies to basic problems of our socioeconomic development. I shall discuss here merely some aspects related to the problem of scientific effectiveness.

As you know, the question of upgrading effectiveness and quality not only of material output but of all activities within society, including scientific work, assumes exceptional importance at the present stage in the building of a developed socialist society. Its significance is determined by the need to continue with the intensification of the economy, upgrade labor productivity substantially, and utilize most sensibly and most effectively the tremendous capital investments stipulated in the Seventh Five-Year Socioeconomic Plan. This is a problem whose solution directly determines the implementation of our basic objective: the ever fuller satisfaction of the material and cultural needs of the people. That is why, with full justification, the 11th party congress and the July Central Committee Plenum called for greater effectiveness and quality as a task of primary economic as well as political and ideological significance.

Science, which is served by everyone present in this discussion, and whose social role is growing steadily, is directly linked with the solution of this problem. Furthermore, it is developing as a decisive factor, as a basic lever in the struggle for upgrading the effectiveness of the economy as well as of all other social activities. Comrade Todor Zhivkov paid particular attention to this fact in the report submitted by the Central Committee to the 11th party congress.

We are currently nearing the end of building the material and technical base of socialism. This must take place on a qualitatively new basis, making full use of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution, the use of comprehensive production and management mechanization and automation, and the improvement and, particularly, the use of essentially new technologies. We are following a line of steady advancement of social management and its technology and mechanisms. We are struggling for upgrading the socialist awareness of the working people, the harmonious and all-round development of the individual, and so on. Today the successful solution of all these problems would be inconceivable without the most active participation of science.

However, we must acknowledge the existence of a contradiction between the requirements of higher effectiveness, further economic intensification, the maintenance of accelerated and stable rates of economic and socio-political development, and, in general, of accelerating the historical process of the country's development, on the one hand, and the contribution of our scientific workers to this matter, on the other. I hope that the present discussion will make a certain, even though minor, contribution to surmounting this contradiction.

Allow me, above all, to refine the concept of scientific effectiveness, the precise question which we have been asked to discuss. In my view scientific effectiveness has two main aspects. Arbitrarily, we could describe the first aspect as internal or internal-scientific effectiveness, i.e., effectiveness which covers the realm of science, of scientific labor itself. It is true that scientific activities have their characteristic features as a creative process. Regardless of such features, however, scientific activities are a variety of human activities in general. Like any labor activity, scientific activity represents, in terms of its structure, a unity of expedient activities or of work of a creative nature, and is an object and a means of labor which, naturally, has its specific manifestation in this area. Consequently, as a variety of all human activities, scientific activity may be more or less effective. In other words, in the course of the process of the production of knowledge the efficiency may vary depending on the creative possibilities of the scientist, the level of the material and technical base, the organization of scientific activities, forecasting, planning, management, and others.

Speaking of scientific effectiveness, I believe that we should bear in mind the second aspect as well. It is a question of the external effectiveness of science, i.e., an effectiveness which depends less on the production of a new scientific idea or new scientific information, even though the significance of such information or new idea may be of great importance to effectiveness. As I mentioned, however, the external effectiveness of science depends less on a new scientific idea than on the "materialization" of the scientific idea, on its implementation as a new development represented by new technologies, new goods, better forms of organization and management, and so on.

It seems to me that distinguishing between these two types of scientific effectiveness is of important methodological significance. They have their relative independence. Yet, a dialectical interrelationship exists between them. The better and the more fruitful the organization and management of scientific activities are, and the more accurately such activities are aimed not only toward the present but, particularly, the future of science, the higher will be the internal effectiveness of science and the more effective will be the impact of scientific results on the economy and the other fields of social life. In other words, the more effective will science become in the extra-scientific area the greater will the external effectiveness of science become. On the other hand, the use of scientific and technical novelties used by science in the form of instruments, apparatus, and others, will upgrade the effectiveness of scientific work itself.

All this enables me to distinguish between the two main aspects of scientific effectiveness. The following paradox may result: the internal effectiveness of science, i.e., the effectiveness of scientific activities themselves, may be quite high. However, should the obtained scientific result in terms of a discovery, an invention, or, in general, of scientific information fail to find a proper application or should such an application be delayed, it is clear that scientific effectiveness as a whole will be low and unsatisfactory in the final account.

It would be proper to emphasize that the task of upgrading scientific effectiveness is not new. We would violate historical truth by ignoring the fact that the struggle for upgrading scientific effectiveness has been the basic trend in our scientific policy, particularly after the April 1956 Central Committee plenum. The basic trend of this policy was precisely to upgrade the role of science and its effect and impact both in terms of material output as well as of all other realms of social reality. This policy of upgrading scientific effectiveness was implemented both horizontally and vertically.

What do I mean by horizontal and vertical developments? Our scientific front, particularly after the April plenum, developed in such a way as to steadily remove its "white spots" through the appearance of new components within the system of the scientific front and the development of new

scientific directions and scientific disciplines which either did not exist in our country at that time or were in their embryonic stage. Naturally, along with the development of new corresponding scientific units we trained new scientific cadres, acquired new equipment, and so on. The development of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences as a powerful comprehensive center, and as the highest Bulgarian complex scientific center, and the integration between it and Sofia University were all steps proving that, horizontally, the policy in the field of science was also a policy of creating conditions for upgrading both the internal and the general effectiveness of science in our country.

Such circumstances were being created vertically as well. By this I mean the linking of science with practice and, above all, with the tempestuously developing national economy. During that period we developed a number of sectorial and departmental scientific units, centers for scientific research and development, application bases, and scientific-production enterprises. This way the links between science and production and practical work were becoming evermore institutionalized cognitively, professionally, and organizationally. The institutional nature of the ties between science and production developed, vertically, new prerequisites for upgrading scientific effectiveness, its external effectiveness above all. A major step in this respect was the stipulation within the so-called cybernetic system of managing science-servicing units at all levels to be assigned to the respective developing unit with a view to undertaking the solution of the practical problems facing the respective system.

Now, following the 11th party congress and the July Central Committee Plenum, what is essentially new in the struggle for upgrading scientific effectiveness? I shall try to earmark merely a few new aspects which characterize the present stage of this struggle. I believe that essentially new is, above all, the very formulation calling for a higher scientific effectiveness as a strategic task, as a task of strategic significance. The question of scientific effectiveness is already linked not only with the solution of short-term tactical problems but of problems of direct importance to the implementation of our strategy--the building of a developed socialist society and the preparations for a gradual transition to communism. Such circumstances presume a different nature of relations concerning the task of greater scientific effectiveness on the part of the respective scientific, political, and economic institutions and workers.

Another essentially new factor is that the task of achieving greater scientific effectiveness is linked with the need for a conversion from extensive to essentially intensive scientific development. Today the emphasis may be put on improving the qualitative composition of people engaged in science and on decisively upgrading the level of training of scientific workers. The emphasis is put on the need to improve the material and technical base of science and the forms of organization and management of scientific activities.

New aspects may be found also in the elaboration of scientific policy in the Seventh Five-Year Plan and through 1990. The main direction of this scientific policy developed, as you know, at the congress itself and in the theses on the preparations for the congress is above all, and mainly the solution of problems formulated by the building of socialism. The basic requirement of our scientific policy and of basic research, and the level of development activities in the natural, technical, and social sciences is to be linked most closely with the basic directions and specific requirements of material output and our overall socioeconomic development. This line has been included in our scientific policy not only for the period covered by the Seventh Five-Year Plan but through 1990 as well.

Another essentially new factor is the creation of qualitatively new organizational and management conditions for upgrading scientific effectiveness through the so-called multiplication approach. The multiplication approach, elaborated on the basis of ideas submitted by Comrade Todor Shikov, and concretized in specific sectors by numerous collectives of specialists is, in my view, the main element which distinguishes the current stage of the struggle for higher scientific effectiveness.

I do not deem it necessary here to discuss the nature of this approach. Allow me merely to emphasize that this is the type of innovational idea which enables us not only to upgrade scientific effectiveness in general but to ensure a multiplied, a multiplication result of a utilization of the results of scientific research. The effect obtained initially in one area, in a single commodity or part, or in a single production sector should be used subsequently on a multiple basis in all other areas where it could be applied. The multiplication approach is characterized by the type of organization and management which enables us, first of all, to specialize output within the scale of the entire national economy and at all stages of the production process with a corresponding staggering of the production process. Secondly, it enables us to achieve complex standardization and considerable unification and typification of parts, assemblies, goods, and processes. Thirdly, it enables us to develop optimal production capacities on this basis.

This form of organization and management enables us to achieve a far greater serial output of homogenous parts, assemblies, and goods. Greater serial output, in turn, means achieving greater results of the applied new development in the production of such assemblies, parts, and goods. On the other hand, it creates favorable conditions for the result achieved from the application of a given scientific and technical solution to be multiplied as a chain reaction in new directions and in optimal dimensions. We know that in our days science is becoming a powerful booster of the economy and of the entire socioeconomic development of the country. This has become basic truth. The question now is to make maximal use of the possibilities of this booster, ensuring the multiplication effect of scientific discoveries and, in general, of new scientific and technical applications.

I deem a certain stipulation necessary. Views have been published to the effect that science is not only a booster but a multiplier. The term multiplier, in this case, would mean that science plays the role of a subject in the process of obtaining a multiplication effect. This could hardly be accepted as correct. We must take into consideration that the multiplication effect depends not only and merely on a scientific achievement. I have said, and shall repeat, that it is not without significance whether or not a given scientific and technical achievement contains within itself the potential for the multiplication of its effect, i.e., the possibility for its application in different sectors and directions. However, should it be potentially embedded in a scientific and technical achievement, the multiplication effect depends mainly on the means of use of scientific results, on whether or not a scientific result could be converted rapidly and promptly into new technology, new machines, or new commodities. Consequently, the question of obtaining a multiplication effect in cases in which a scientific achievement fructifies not science itself but the extra-scientific area is resolved mainly at the final stage of scientific research, in the elaboration of experimental design, technical, and technological blueprints, i.e., at the point where science and production cross. This also predetermines the need for paying even greater attention to the process of the practical utilization of scientific and technical achievements. Today one of the main requirements for such utilization is to be rapid and timely. Any delay could make the use of a given scientific and technical result meaningless. Under the new circumstances we should add yet another to these requirements: the multiplication of the effect of the utilization of a scientific and technical achievement, i.e., the utilization of a specific scientific and technical achievement within the entire possible range, in all possible goods, technologies, and sectors. Despite the fact that in this case we are dealing with a major discovery, the laser is a typical example of the achievement of a multiplication effect of its application. The laser laid the foundations of the newly developed branches of physics. It is extensively applied in telecommunications, meteorology, astronomy, surgery, metal processing, and [chlorography]; of late successful attempts have been made to use it in optical computers. All this proves the possibilities of the multiplication effect. I emphasize again, however, that this can be achieved above all in the experimental design and technical development stages, and in the process of practical utilization of scientific results.

Finally, allow me to point out that the possibility for obtaining a multiplication effect from scientific and technical developments is found, essentially, in the specific nature of scientific knowledge, and in the results of scientific output. The product of scientific activities is distinguished qualitatively from the products of other types of activity. According to the Soviet scientist Rakitov the unique nature of a scientific achievement is its characteristic feature. A determining criterion of scientific effectiveness is new knowledge. At the same time, unlike material production goods, scientific knowledge does not wear out. It could be used repeatedly, and "consumed" repeatedly. For this reason the

multiple use of scientific results also creates conditions for achieving qualitatively new knowledge and for its further utilization. However, the conversion of this possibility into reality, on an optimal basis, depends mainly on the ability to organize practical utilization in such a way, and to achieve the type of alliance among scientists, designers, engineers, and production workers as to obtain a multiplication effect of a scientific and technical novelty.

I shall end by stating that achieving higher scientific effectiveness is a two-sided process. On the one hand, it depends on the scientists, on the people engaged in science; on the other, it depends on the people engaged in production and in the other realms of social activities. The logical conclusion is that a real increase in scientific effectiveness may be achieved only through the closest and most effective cooperation between science and production, between science and practice.

D. Spasov: I would ask Comrade Yakhiel to say something more about the conditions which determine the multiplication of the results of scientific activities.

N. Yakhiel: As I mentioned, production specialization and related unification, standardization, and typification are among the main prerequisites for achieving a multiplication effect from the use of a given scientific and technical achievement. In addition to the other advantages, specialization on the scale of the entire national economy creates the possibility to develop the type of production structure which would correspond most fully to the possibilities and requirements of the country and, at the same time, the requirements of the scientific and technical revolution. On the other hand, it would enable us to develop production capacities in optimal dimensions. Furthermore, the more we raise the level of standardization and typification and, particularly, unification of goods the more we increase the serial nature of their output and, correspondingly, the more we can reduce variety. It is obvious that the higher the level of production specialization becomes, and the higher the percentage of standardization of assemblies and parts of certain items becomes, the greater will be the result of the application of a new development in the production of such parts and assemblies which will be disseminated repeatedly along the production chain as well as in terms of similar goods using the same standardized parts and assemblies.

Naturally, one of the important prerequisites for obtaining a multiplication effect lies in the very process of research and, above all, in the fact that at the development stage scientists and designers must set themselves in advance the task of applying results in other national economic sectors as well.

Achieving a multiplication effect is not a self-seeking aim. Above all, in order to apply a given scientific or technical achievement in scales and conditions in which a multiplication effect may be achieved, it must

meet a specific social need. In the absence of such a need such an achievement will either not be used at all or will be used to a limited extent only, the extent to which a factual social need exists. It is also important for the use of a given achievement to be economically advantageous, i.e., for the correlation between the effect, even a multiplication effect, and the expenditures related to its obtaining at a given stage is favorable.

I. Kirilov: Do the multiplication approach and multiplication effect discussed here have anything in common with Keynes' multiplier model?

N. Yakhiel: Without going into details, allow me to note merely that in terms of nature and content the multiplication approach and effect of the utilization of scientific research are quite different, basically different from the ideas expressed by Keynes and the neo-Keynesians concerning the multiplier.

According to Keynes the multiplier is a coefficient which indicates the dependence of income changes as a result of specific changes in capital investments. According to the multiplication principle which is expressed quantitatively through the multiplier coefficient, capital investments influence the increase of the national income, employment, and consumption. As we may see, the multiplier model developed by Keynes and his followers applies to an entirely different area, to entirely different phenomena. Furthermore, the multiplier model is aimed at seeking means for surmounting the stagnation or crisis in the capitalist economy. Here again we see the basic difference in the class nature and direction of the ideas expressed by Keynes and the neo-Keynesians concerning the multiplier and the idea of the multiplication approach and multiplication effect as a powerful means for upgrading the effectiveness of material output and of all social activities under the conditions of a socialist system.

Naturally, the capitalists as well try to achieve a multiplication effect in the use scientific and technical achievements. However, the domination of private ownership of capital goods and the competitive struggle among monopoly associations erect insurmountable barriers to the full utilization of new developments. The socialist society, free from social antagonism, has the possibility to achieve optimal conditions for multiplying the effect of the improvement of old and the use of new technologies, the development of new and more effective parts, machines, and goods, or the solution of one or another scientific or technical problem. Here again we see the advantages of the socialist compared with the capitalist system.

D. Spasov: How are we to understand such an approach in terms of education: general purpose training or specialized training?

Pr. Stoyanov: In connection with the production specialization and concentration now taking place in our country some economic managers hastened to draw the conclusion that no high-level training for performing cadres was necessary, for the operations at a specific job are not excessively complex. Following this line, some began to submit a great variety of suggestions related to our educational system. I believe this to be profoundly erroneous. The contemporary aspect of performing cadres presumes their solid basic and polytechnical training. This is required both by the interests of the production process as well as the need for our society to mold a comprehensively developed individual.

It is from this viewpoint that I believe that the present state of training in a number of disciplines is unsatisfactory. Since quite recently we held a discussion with Academician Khristo Khristov, I would indicate the level of training in physics as one of the disciplines which do not shape adequately the polytechnical training of the students. For example, in our country physics is studied in technical secondary and higher educational institutions to a far lesser extent compared with those in the Soviet Union. That is why we could reach a situation in which a young specialist would not have the necessary creative tuning which life will always demand of him. Therefore, one of the means for upgrading educational effectiveness will be sought along this line.

In this connection, allow me to emphasize the exceptionally important role of the creative study and application of leading soviet experience and of the achievements of soviet science and technology in the realms of education and science. Actually, fraternal cooperation with the USSR is one of the basic factors for enhancing the quality and effectiveness of educational work.

Angel Angelov. Problems of Scientific Services to the Production Process.

In recent decades profound progressive changes have occurred in the overall social and economic life of our country. Within a short historical time an industry was developed which today accounts for a considerable percentage of the national income. The influence of science and scientific and technical progress was one of the important factors for its intensive development.

The need for the creation of scientific research institutes and bases of industrial combines, trusts, and economic ministries, to provide scientific services to their production subdivisions, arose with the increased complexity of the production process, the development and expansion of variety, the conversion from the production of simple and single machines and equipment to complex equipment and systems and, particularly, with the extensive development of new science-intensive directions (computers, automation and automation facilities, machines and systems with digital programming, the production of plastics, and others). This need has appeared with particular urgency in machine building and, particularly,

electronics--directions in which we feel most strongly the dynamics of the renovation of the production nomenclature through the modernization of existing and the designing of essentially new machines, equipment, and systems. Thus, nomenclature in the field of electronics is renovated throughout the world each four to five years; in 1975, in our country the renovation coefficient of electronic and electrical engineering output reached 26 percent.

The problems of scientific services to industry become particularly clear within the system of electronic and electrical engineering output, for this is one of the biggest science-intensive industrial sectors and the problems which arise here are largely problems affecting the remaining sectors.

In order for the scientific services to industry to be able not only to play their role but to become a decisive factor in industrial development, they must meet some basic requirements.

1. Above all, most of the scientific research and development should lead to the materializing of their results: the creation of new and modernized machines, equipment, systems, and new materials whose practical utilization would ensure a normal annual renovation and modernization of the sector. This is also one of the main prerequisites for its fast quantitative expansion. The implementation of such a requirement could be ensured by maximally reducing the research-production cycle.
2. In the case of countries with limited domestic markets, such as ours, the production process must be organized in optimal series and quantities, based on durable and lasting international long-term procurement agreements. This means that scientific research and developments oriented toward industry should provide contemporary high-level solutions (new materials, goods, and systems), which would be competitive and find a good international market. This requirement particularly applies to an export sector in our country such as electronics and electrical engineering since over 45 percent of its finished product is for export.
3. Reducing production costs in the sector is of very great importance to its long-term development and expansion of export possibilities and contribution to the overall economic results of the country. This means that scientific research and services to industry must be so directed as to resolve problems whose result would be a maximal reduction of costs through the development and utilization of new, more productive and precise technologies; the development and utilization of mechanization and automation of individual machines, machine units, technological lines, and production and control operations and processes; the introduction of new and more advanced forms of organization and management of the overall production process; and the modernization of produced commodities with a view to the maximal reduction of their metal-intensiveness and material-intensiveness.

4. One of the main requirements facing the organizations providing scientific services to the sector is the development of new promising directions. In the course of their information, study, and research activities, determining such new directions along which it would be expedient to organize effective production within the sector is of substantial significance. The purposeful and skilled implementation of this task is of great importance to the long-term development of the sector and to its modernization in accordance with progressive trends throughout the world.

This shows that the basic requirements facing scientific research and development oriented toward industry and the scientific servicing of the production process are directly linked with and aimed toward the solution of essential technical and economic problems facing individual economic enterprises, combines, trusts, or departments. In order to be able to assess accurately the condition of scientific services we must analyze our achievements and carefully study and formulate unresolved problems.

Above all, a scientific potential considerable in terms of our conditions has been developed in the field of electronic and electrical engineering output. Personnel providing scientific services to this sector account for 7.3 percent of the overall number of workers and about 16.3 percent of the entire scientific potential of the country. Scientific research institutes have been set up in the decisive strategic directions--computers, communications industry, instrument manufacturing and automation facilities, microelectronics, electrical engineering industry, and others. The number of highly skilled cadres in such industries has become considerable as well: here specialists with scientific titles and degrees account for over 14 percent of their overall number.

Thanks to the proper formulations found in a number of party and government documents on upgrading the effectiveness of scientific research and development and shortening the research-production cycle, in recent years the number of applied problems has increased sharply (new items and technologies and mechanization and automation assignments); the ratio between the number of applied assignments and of assignments under development has changed in a positive direction. Thus, in 1975 about 1,400 topics were applied in the fields of electronics and electrical engineering; of these over 900 were new items and technologies and the ratio we quoted equalled 59 percent. This enables us to maintain a high production renovation coefficient averaging about 20 percent annually.

The participation of a large number of highly skilled specialists in sectorial development work is having a positive impact on the enhancement of the sector's technical level. In the first half of this year the output rated "above average world standards" reached 15 percent of the entire electronic and electrical engineering output; output rated "average and above average level" exceeded 60 percent.

The maximal and the effective utilization and borrowing of experience from scientifically leading and advanced countries are of essential significance to a country with a limited scientific potential. This is a major reserve for shortening the duration of the research-production cycle and for the more effective utilization of available cadre and financial resources. In this respect the use of foreign experience in all its forms—documentation, joint development, specialization, purchase of licenses, utilization of prototypes, and so on--has increased in recent years. The psychological barrier existing in most scientific workers and specialists has been largely surmounted. In 1975 70 percent of all applied problems in the electronic and electrical engineering system involved the use of the experience of advanced countries.

Along with achievements reached in recent years in the field of scientific servicing of the production process certain problems whose solution is imperative remain.

1. One of the most important aspects of effective scientific servicing of industry is the shaping of scientific and development problems. Their formulation is based on the decisions made by state and party authorities on the development of the country's economy; the international obligations of the sector as a result of integration relations with CEMA member-countries; and the domestic needs of the country and the results of forecasts and market studies which require scientific research in promising areas.

At the same time, however, the views, inclinations, and interests of a broad range of scientific workers and specialists employed by the institutes play a large, frequently decisive, role in establishing scientific and development problems. In order for such subjective views displayed by individual specialists to obey the main requirements of the scientific services we considered, we must formulate more precisely the criteria for assessing the results of scientific research and development, linking them very closely with practical economic results. The current criteria do not meet this requirement fully.

An assessment of the usefulness of a given scientific research assignment or engineering development directed toward industry could be based on industrial output, profit, exports, particularly those paid for in convertible currency, and the reduction of production costs in the manufacturing of a given item.

A clearer formulation of such criteria will also direct the possibilities and interests of a large number of scientific workers and specialists toward topics meeting such requirements.

2. Our country has a number of higher educational institutions and institutes operating under the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences. They account for a considerable number of scientific workers and specialists operating on a

high theoretical level. A number of them have also acquired a certain practical experience. The ties currently existing between such scientific workers and specialists, on the one hand, and industrial enterprises, on the other, do not make possible the full utilization of their possibilities. The topics developed frequently consist of specific assignments formulated by individual enterprises, assignments which are of no particular importance, and, in some cases, theoretical developments.

A form of relations between higher educational institutions and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, on the one hand, and industry, on the other, which we consider successful is the creation of sectorial scientific research laboratories under double jurisdiction. They are part of the scientific research council of the higher educational institution (or Bulgarian Academy of Sciences), while their financing is provided entirely by the economic ministry. Plans are ratified jointly. This makes it possible to direct them to the solution of important long-range sectorial problems. An encouraging beginning has been made in the creation of such laboratories in the field of electronics.

The conversion of a considerable segment of now existing problem laboratories to the status of sectorial laboratories will make a great contribution to the qualified development of a number of problems in the various sectors. In this connection we must develop further certain concepts governing their work.

3. Under the conditions of a more complex industrial output the capital-labor ratio in scientific research and development is an important element for drastically upgrading its possibilities and effectiveness. The high requirements facing the machines, equipment, and systems under development in terms of accuracy, operational safety, and reliability raise new and ever greater problems in the course of their elaboration and testing. This is related to the need for conducting scientific research and development work with the extensive use of testing equipment and machines.

At present the capital-labor ratio of most scientific institutes and development and application bases is below the required standard for the implementation of such assignments. It is a problem awaiting a solution.

N. Yakhiel: To the best of my recollection the theses call for equalizing the capital-labor ratio in science and industry only in 1990. Yet, that of science should be higher.

A. Angelov: It is necessary and normal that this ratio be higher in science.

4. An important problem which has not been provided a most favorable solution is the interest of production units in the practical utilization of new items. We must strengthen the economic levers which increase such interest.

The problems of scientific servicing of the production process are of exceptional importance to the development of our economy. The study of our past achievements and, particularly, the proper formulation and solution of problems in this direction could contribute to the drastic upgrading of its effectiveness.

In connection with the question raised by Comrade Yakhiel I would like to discuss some of the essential aspects of the application of the new approach to the development of electronics and electrical engineering in the Seventh Five-Year Plan.

Allow me to emphasize, above all, that the application of this approach opened considerable possibilities which enabled us to develop the exceptionally high growth of volume and quality indicators in the sector (over 20 percent annually). This growth is consistent with the implementation of the obligations assumed by the country within the framework of international economic integration with the remaining socialist countries and the better satisfaction of domestic requirements related to the accelerated use of electronic facilities in our economic, social, and cultural life.

A basic aspect in development is the introduction of extensive sectorial standardization. This problem is being developed on three levels:

Standardization of basic elements and assemblies and, on this basis, their reduction to optimal series and introduction of a catalog system;

Elaboration of type-series of basic functional items on the basis of standardized elements and assemblies;

Creation of uniform functioning systems (computer, communication, and automation), with total standardization from the information, structural, and power viewpoints.

The second important aspect is the further specialization of the plants and their rational staggering. Naturally, this is possible only on the basis of highly standardized output.

N. Yakhiel: How many steps do we have in the production process?

A. Angelov: The first level includes enterprises producing certain specific materials, elements, and goods (semiconductors, resistors, metal-ceramic parts, conductors, specific chemicals, and others). The second level consists of plants producing standardized assemblies (transformers, mechanical structures, electric current supplying blocks, and others). The next step is that of plants producing as finished products functionally autonomous instruments, apparatus, and equipment. Actually, this is the basic level. Allow me to point out that we are already developing a fourth level, something characteristic of electronic and electrical engineering output in terms of complementing and supplying of systems. In accordance

with the elaborated concept the size of this level will be expanded in the course of the five-year plan.

N. Yakhiel: Here is yet another question aimed at interlinking the system more closely. What is the position of scientific services at these levels with a view to the application of the multiplication approach?

A. Angelov: The electronic and electrical engineering system has a considerable number of scientific cadres. With a view to their most effective utilization and the solution of the problems formulated by the new approach they could be classified into two groups depending on their direct links with production units. A considerable segment of them (about 65 percent) such as development bureaus and even scientific institutes are part of plants, combines, or scientific-production combines and resolve problems of scientific and technical progress within a specific production subdivision.

Along with the four basic ministry industrial complexes (computers, radio-electronic and communications equipment, electric power industry, and instrument manufacturing and automation) there are central institutes which resolve problems of conceptual development, systematic coordination of all developments, a policy of unification and standardization, and the elaboration of most of the more complex instruments, equipment, and systems. The increased complexity of output and effective application of the new approach demand of these central units high skills and responsibility.

Azarya Polikarov: I am interested in something which is precisely linked with the effectiveness of scientific activities. You mentioned the percentage of scientific workers (about 16 percent) working on such problems. In other countries with a more developed electronic industry the percentage of such workers is higher. How would a higher productivity be expressed if in those such countries and in ours this industry would account for 20 percent?

A. Angelov: The question applies above all to assessing the position of our country compared with the other countries in terms of electronic and electrical engineering output. Naturally, in this case the comparison should be on a per capita basis. From this viewpoint we are among the leading six-seven countries in the world and are even more advanced in terms of commodity exports.

Thanks to the correct party policy on developing machine building and giving priority to its most progressive directions today electronic and electrical engineering output exceeds 11 percent of our entire industry. Compared with a number of advanced countries this is a considerable accomplishment.

Let us now discuss effectiveness.

As a result of the increased number of applied problems and the high renovation coefficient the economic result of scientific research and development increased sharply.

In accordance with the method we use our economic effectiveness is assessed according to returns per leva invested in scientific research. In the first nine months of 1976 such returns exceeded four leva for the Ministry of Electronics and Electrical Engineering.

However, the volume of newly produced goods is particularly indicative of the effectiveness of scientific research and development. This indicator is particularly high in the field of electronics and electrical engineering.

Azarya Polikarov: Information, Organization, and Scientific Creativity.

I would like to emphasize in advance the need for taking into consideration the specific nature of the various sciences, for which reason my remarks are not universally applicable. That which I am about to say will probably have a number of exceptions from the viewpoint of the other sciences. In the final account, however, everyone takes into consideration and sums up the facts on a limited basis. This applies to all of my following remarks.

I believe, above all, that a preliminary study should be made on the problem raised, a problem of exceptional importance. We must review the works of noted scientists, organizers, science sociologists, and others. For a number of years a number of noted scientists with tremendous scientific experience or tremendous scientific and organizational experience have expressed their views on such matters. Even though some such statements are some 10 or more years old many of them are still pertinent. Thus, for example, I reread the collection of articles by Academician P. L. Kapitsa "Eksperiment, Teoriya, Praktika" [Experiment, Theory, Practice] (Moscow, 1974) which, among others, contains the article "Effectiveness of Scientific Work" (written in 1966). It contains interesting thoughts on broadening the rights and possibilities of institute directors in the solution of specific problems topical to this day.

The problem thus formulated also presumes the study of our own experience. In this respect valuable experience has been acquired. For example, I realized recently that we are manufacturing magnetic discs for electronic adding machines meeting world standards. It would be useful for the people working on such modern technological problems to be represented in such a discussion. Unfortunately, I lacked sufficient time to make a systematic study of this matter, for which reason I shall not discuss it any further, but have merely noted it.

As to possible infatuations and inclinations of considering wishes as reality (or possibility) let us point out that science has nothing in common with alchemy. It is not a "philosophical stone" with which we can turn things into gold instantly. It could provide exceptionally valuable results, more than any other activity, but under strictly formulated conditions (basically subject to scientific research and proof).

The elementary truth is that scientific work is done with proper financing, institutes, equipment, personnel, publications, scientific criticism, and so on.

Today scientific work is conducted in different sectors and at different levels depending on the funds allocated. There are scientific problems whose solution requires billions and tens of billions (10^9 - 10^{10}) rubles or dollars. A second level exists in the solution of problems requiring tens or hundreds of millions (10^7 - 10^8) rubles. The third level includes those costing from hundreds of thousands to millions (10^5 - 10^6) rubles. Finally, the fourth level includes problems whose solution requires relatively modest funds ranging from several thousand to several tens of thousand (10^3 - 10^4) rubles.

Modern science has its price and we should not consider that it is a question of good will or organization in conducting scientific research in a sector or at a level lacking the necessary objective prerequisites.

Consequently, we must begin by finding the place or level of the task within our power to implement with a view to the development of science and, particularly, of its applied aspect.

The second point related to the objective prerequisites for science, perhaps quite familiar, which I would like to emphasize is that should we wish to achieve scientific results we should bear in mind that such results are achieved indirectly. In this case a straight line is not the shortest distance between two points. This applies to science, inventions, and application. A characteristic case involving science is that of Newton's theory and Einstein's theory of gravitation described Feinman. Newton's theory explained all phenomena with remarkably accuracy. However, gradually, entirely minor deviations appeared. It was natural to expect that minor deviations could be explained with minor corrections of the theory (such attempts were made toward the end of the 19th century). It turned out, however, that minor deviations could be explained with the help of a headlong, so to say, conversion from one theory to an entirely new and far more complex one. Therefore, a far more powerful machinery had to be applied in the case of minor deviations.

Basically, I believe that this also applies to invention and application. The so-called "heroic theory" of inventions has become obsolete. This means that inventions are not simply a question of inspiration (even though it is necessary) on the part of a single person who has achieved something. Occasionally, it is precisely wherever effectiveness is required to develop something essentially new instead of a minor rationalization a great deal of knowledge is required and the road leading to such an achievement is not straight but complexly indirect. Even Edison, given as an example of the empirical inventor, had at his disposal a tremendous stock of information. This is even more valid today, when significant invention activities become possible on the basis of very serious preliminary basic research.

A certain explanation is necessary on what to understand by the effectiveness and upgrading of scientific activity. Occasionally, this is considered as meaning an increase in the volume of publications.

I know some institutes which have developed something resembling fetishism concerning quantity, encouraging the overproduction of quasientific projects. They are able to answer the requirement of greater effectiveness by increasing the volume of the grey stream and of the greyness of the stream. In such cases we should support and implement the wise maxim of "Better Less But Better!"

There is a liberal concept of scientific activities according to which just about every second person could do scientific work and every scientific worker could be a useful participant in scientific research or, in general, that everyone could contribute something to this process. This concept may be traced to Bacon and is closely linked with the empirical view of the nature of science.

Modern research proves that the most significant projects, judging by the number of citations, are based, in turn, on a range of other projects. Tracing this range, i.e., determining the works used as a base for further research, we see that usually about 20 percent of all scientific workers account for the lion's share in science, and that no more than 50 percent of them are successfully involved in the research process. Consequently, not every scientific worker by far creates science. The development of science is promoted by highly skilled specialists who could yield significant results as well. In this case it is precisely a question of productive participation in the research process rather than of any other type of scientific (teaching) or scientific organization activity.

Academician Budker has expressed this with the statement that science is created within certain circles. We find throughout the world more or less similar periodicals and books. However, results are achieved wherever there are major specialists and collectives creating ideas and engaging in proper and useful interaction.

Taking as a guideline the figure that 20 percent or 50 percent of the scientists are actually involved in the scientific process, the question is who among our scientists are included in the 20 or 50 percent. In the final account, it is they who create science and it is around them that science will be created. However, do we always assess properly and offer adequate support to such scientists? Unfortunately, I cannot give an unreservedly affirmative answer to this question.

I am unable to provide any prescription whatever as to conditions leading to upgrading effectiveness. That which may be said on this subject has been long known. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy. I have frequently asked myself why is it that some urgent problems which have been frequently formulated (at the academy) have remained unresolved. And, I have always recalled the

paradox of Achilles and the turtle. Why is it that Achilles can never catch up with the turtle? Because the problem itself does not clearly limit the time allowed to Achilles to achieve his objective. Frequently the tasks which face us are similar: we must resolve something but under unchanged or almost unchanged conditions. There should be no change in personnel, improvements of facilities, or more money. Yet, improvements are demanded. Such problems are insoluble. If even the fast Achilles is unable to catch up with the turtle, it is far less possible to catch up with Achilles with the pace of the turtle.

Recently Academician V. L. Ginzburg published an article discussing a problem of concern to us as well. He made three statements. First, the most developed sciences go from a stage of exponential development to a saturation stage.

On the other hand, scientific output must continue to develop at the old pace.

Thirdly, said he, there are no reasons to hope that within the foreseeable future we could find a way to upgrade considerably the effectiveness of the process of creating activity itself and....achieve a sharp increase in scientific labor productivity. Nevertheless, what is the solution to this problem?

In his time Academician Vavilov as well as Academician Kapitsa had suggested something very nice, valid to this day. Like the academy, each scientific center recruits people. Not all of them can yield high-level output for an entire lifetime. Some are good for three to five years; others are good for 10 years while others again are good for longer periods of time. Vavilov suggested, and his suggestion was used, that he who appears to be a creative worker over a long period of time would remain in the academy or research institute. Whoever fails to meet this requirement would leave the institute and work as a teacher, in a plant, publishing house, and others. There are a number of activities in which the fact that such a person worked within an academic institute and upgraded his skills would be of unquestionable use. However, should such a person remain in the institute throughout his life or should anyone entering the institute remain there the scientific institution would be blocked. There would be no place for new young people. In general, any hasty staffing of an institute is quite detrimental.

Conversely, capable scientific workers should be offered greater possibilities to work in big scientific centers in the country and abroad.

Further considerable improvements in the field of scientific information are necessary. Naturally, this includes supplies to libraries which remain the main link in the field of scientific information.

The scientific worker must have access to basic publications, obtain them promptly and use them promptly. It is precisely in this respect that we are experiencing major difficulties due to the fact that the budget for periodicals remains unchanged while the cost of such periodicals rises with every passing year. Every year we face the difficulty of keeping our subscription of at least several specific scientific periodicals. Allow me to tell you an oddity: the modern West German periodical BURDA is received in our country in nearly 100 copies! Yet, should an important scientific periodical received by the libraries come in two copies the fact is considered almost as a waste. I believe that our country could do with a lesser number of periodicals such as BURDA but not without essential periodicals covering basic scientific areas. Without their study we cannot speak of science on a modern level, not to mention effectiveness of scientific activities. Science does not fall from the skies. It should be considered, above all, as an objective process whose minimal level is scientific information gained through periodicals and books without which, naturally, we cannot operate on a modern level.

Even though this is not universally applicable, in the spirit of our first stipulation, the effectiveness of some sciences could be judged, indirectly, by the extent to which basic periodicals and monographs are used, the number of people who have a minimal mastery of the language in which such periodicals are published, and the percentage of our scientific workers who indeed study modern scientific publications without which I do not believe that scientific work could be done (I repeat that this does not include certain specific areas in which this requirement could be ignored). I am speaking of a number of basic sciences which are being developed throughout the world and in which we participate, want to participate, and must participate.

Allow me to raise yet another question. I believe that we must think and do something about the creation of institutional means for interdisciplinary and multi-disciplinary research and development.

In the past we required considerable efforts to regulate the status of sciences such as physical chemistry. Subsequently, the same situation was repeated when it became necessary to create institutes for biophysics, biochemistry, and so on. In our time the need for such (autonomous) scientific units has been, generally speaking, properly acknowledged. This idea was supported and implemented. In recent years a number of new periodicals appeared covering interdisciplinary areas. "In order to work on the complex problems we set ourselves we must integrate disciplines and the respective specialists within complex collectives," wrote the two well-known representatives of operational studies. Institutes for mathematical biology and other interdisciplinary research groups and centers are being created in the Soviet Union and in a number of other countries. It appears that today everyone agrees that these are promising areas in which work is being and must be done. However, the moment such works appear in our country great difficulties arise as to where to publish them or, in the

the case of dissertations, where are they to be defended. They are tossed around the various institutes. We are thus objectively hindering the development of some promising scientific branches. Yet, since at the present stage it is difficult to develop science without proper institutional forms, we should think of establishing such forms without which we would be seriously hindering scientific progress.

Everything mentioned so far has been mostly on the general level. Personally, how would I consider the possibility to upgrade the effectiveness of my work? Every one of us would say the following: give me more time, and give me a lesser number of technical assignments in particular; the effectiveness of my work would be improved if I am given auxiliary personnel, and so on. This is universally known and I shall not discuss the matter.

I believe that something could be done and that I could participate in the process of stimulating the creative thinking of our young scientific and technical cadres. I believe that this is an essential contemporary problem. According to the Soviet press over a number of years the Gordon synectics group in the United States sponsored quarterly courses for upgrading the creative ability of production engineers. The analogy method was used. Companies have paid up to \$200,000 for such courses, showing their interest in them and their usefulness. I am well familiar with the Gordon course and I believe that without duplicating it we could accomplish something just as good if not considerably better. About six years ago I tried to interest a training institution in introducing and trying such a course of lectures and exercises. I was asked to submit a detailed program. Unfortunately, things ended there. It turned out that there was no place where this idea could be implemented. This means that the effectiveness of our activities depends both on social requirements and on the degree to which we are aware of such requirements, as well as the possibility of taking certain practical steps in this direction.

Gencho Pir'ov. Cadre Selection and Training Requirements

The question of the qualities of the creative scientific worker is part of the more general question of the qualities of a creative personality. In both cases we still lack adequate research which would enable us to provide a final answer. However, we have sufficient data which we could use as a basis for the discussion of this matter. The problem of the qualities of the creative personality is complicated by the fact that there are many areas of creativity and major individual differences in the structure of creative capabilities. Nevertheless, certain basic features of the creative personality and of the qualities of the creative scientific worker may be noted.

The first is a sharpened power of observation which makes possible the gathering of facts and data, and the noting of all details or changes in the environment or in the research project. A rich and lively imagination is an important characteristic of the creative individual not only the field

of artistic creativity but in science as well. We are familiar with V. I. Lenin's thought that "it is stupid to deny the role of imagination even in the strictest of sciences," and that "even the discovery of differential and integral calculus would have been impossible without imagination."

Yet, however important observation and imagination might be, they would be insufficient should one of the most important prerequisites be lacking--creative thinking. This is so essential that the concepts of creativity and creative thinking are frequently considered identical. In all human activities thinking plays a basic role. In scientific activities, however, this role is particularly important. Several basic mental qualities are most significant, such as: a. responsiveness to problem situations to which the person reacts and which trigger thinking activities in the case of situations unnoticed by other people; b. flexibility (mobility) of thought, offering the possibility for seeking more than one solution to a given problem and changing the line of thought if necessary; c. smoothness of thinking expressed in a rapid verbal-thinking flow and originality of decisions; d. original thinking which ensures new and unusual accomplishments. In addition to such qualities other qualities of the mind are important such as autonomy and critical thinking, and depth and perspicacity which enable us to see more profoundly the correlation and nature of phenomena.

Along with such intellectual abilities, certain character features related to the emotional-will realm, play considerable roles in the creative personality. This includes, above all, some qualities of the will of the personality such as discipline, purposefulness, endurance, industriousness (ability to work), courage and daring, independence, persistence, and others. It is no accident that in many languages we find the maxim that genius is 10 percent inspiration and 90 percent perspiration (work).

The role of character features has been emphasized in a number of studies. Thus, for example, I received the following answer to one of my investigations of 40 university teachers on the question of the desirable qualities of the successful and promising scientific worker: love for the subject, 85 percent; industriousness, 70 percent; ability to concentrate, 58 percent; analytical thinking, 35 percent, and others. The answers to the question of undesirable qualities of scientific cadres were focused on intellectual characteristics and personality features, as follows: superficial training, 69 percent; lack of scientific interest, 62 percent; lack of concentration, 56 percent; presumptuousness, 56 percent; laziness, 31 percent; lack of will power, 25 percent, and so on.

Soviet scientist Khokhlov has noted that the creative scientist must possess the following qualities: enthusiasm, good memory, concentration, clear and logical formulation of thoughts, assumptions, and conclusions, ability to think simply about complex matters, high intensiveness in the production of ideas, ability to synthesize an overall picture on the basis of partial

data, creative freedom, thinking without prejudices, critical assessment of research results, including one's own, and a broad scientific and cultural outlook.

A number of other attempts have been made to delineate the profile of the creative scientific worker. It is clear, however, that despite certain differences in these experiments we can see the complexity of the structure of such a profile. Difficulties in resolving this problem also proceed from the difficulty of its precise, and objective, not to mention experimental, study. Nevertheless, studies conducted so far give us a base for the selection and training of scientific cadres. In turn, such work could also contribute to clarifying the problem of the structure of the creative personality in the field of science.

At the present stage problems related to developing the ability for scientific creativity are of particularly great practical significance.

Let us emphasize, above all, that regardless of the various concepts on the influence of biological and social factors on mental development, it is unquestionable that the abilities of a person develop in the course of his individual path and that this process could be influenced. This is not to say that we reject the significance of hereditary predispositions. It means, however, that they have no decisive influence. The basic dialectical-materialistic view on the unity between activities and mental development is of methodological significance to understanding the conditions governing the molding of abilities and their role in the effective pursuit of further activities. Hence the understanding that the leading role of training and education through which basic activities are specifically controlled (games, studies, work, and creativity) with a view to the implementation of their developing (molding) role.

This leads us directly to the role of education and training in the selection and training of cadres in general and cadres for scientific work in particular. Both questions--selection and training--are closely interrelated and interdependent. Effective training and educational work ensures cadre training and, at the same time, creates prerequisites for their proper selection. With a correctly understood and scientifically conducted selection, subsequently, in the course of practical experience, prerequisites are created for even more effective educational and self-educational work, i.e., for the continuing improvement of abilities.

It should not be considered that questions related to the selection and training of cadres for effective scientific work are resolved only in higher educational institutions or scientific units. Even though the latter have most immediate obligations in this respect, such matters should face all levels and types of schools and, to a certain extent, the other factors as well such as the family, the mass information media, and the social organizations.

Here I shall discuss mainly the role of the school.

One of the conditions for the school to be able to fulfill its role is the application of the system of differentiated training. Along with the enrichment of curricula and programs in the spirit of contemporary scientific achievements, we must organize as many branches as possible of the upper training levels enabling us to meet the different interests of the students. This is not merely a question of the types of professional training but of branches within the system of the general educational polytechnical school. This can be achieved either through a system of elective subjects or the creation of several differentiated general education branches. In both cases we should offer the students the possibility, along with the basic minimum needed for a general education, to be able to study more intensively and at greater length subjects consistent with their interests and inclinations. Our educational reform includes this principle. However, its specific implementation as shown in draft curricula does not go far enough along the line of such a differentiation.

Furthermore, it is necessary for the conditions created in high schools specializing in mathematics, arts, and sports, to offer facilities to youngsters displaying interests and abilities in other scientific disciplines as well. We must also pay sufficient attention to students who, without possessing special talents, are showing the characteristics of high-level intelligence.

Adding to this more systematic and scientific measures for the educational and vocational guidance of the students, we would ensure better conditions for directing them toward the branches in higher education through which they would be able to display their abilities of future creative cadres most completely.

However, this purpose requires other, more profound internal changes in the training-education process. Above all, we must understand and implement more fully the principle of individualization. Whereas differentiation applies to divisions within the school system individualization applies to making the very education and training consistent with the individual characteristics of the students.

This requires, above all, their careful study in order to establish objectively such characteristics and, particularly, the existence of some already manifested capabilities and talents or prerequisites for the same. Along with systematic observations in the course of class and extracurricular training specially organized psychological and biographic studies are necessary. This will be assisted by the psychology offices which are extremely necessary in each school. Naturally, noting individual-mental characteristics is merely the first step which must be followed by correspondingly suitable methods and training through which we could develop capabilities further. In this work it is particularly important to surmount the narrow concept of the exclusive value of a certain small range of

scholastic successes in the so-called academic subjects, for example. It is equally necessary not to identify grades with the possibilities of the students to succeed in life or in higher studies.

Another principle to be implemented more completely is that of the consciousness and activeness of the students. This calls for greater orientation of education toward the development of thinking, better motivation for training activities, and greater autonomy and activeness at all times of the training process compared with the present. This also means a steady trend toward turning education into self-education as a permanent conscientious process. The requirements of this principle correspond to the concepts of the conscious nature of creative work pitted against the idealistic concepts of its subconscious nature. They create prerequisites for educating autonomously thinking individuals as stipulated in the BCP Program.

Closely linked with this are the stipulations of the principle of problems training. The significance of this principle, as, in general, that of improving training practices, particularly in terms of the training of creatively thinking people, stems from the basic role played by problem solving in scientific work. In accordance with the requirements of this principle the training process must be organized in such a way as to be based as much as possible on problem stipulations. The formulation of problems must be encouraged not only on the part of teachers but of students as well. We must develop the trend toward original and non-routine solution seeking.

This applies both to secondary schools, where the training of cadres begins, as well as to higher schools where it is continued and, occasionally, where it ends in the case of highly skilled cadres. However, since the higher educational institutions also have their own more particular responsibilities and possibilities in this respect such possibilities must be noted, even though rather briefly.

Let us first emphasize the significance of all the measures required to ensure the all-round improvement of training-educational work in higher educational institutions. Raising the scientific and pedagogical levels of the lectures is one such prerequisite. We know the great impact of lectures on the creative achievements of professors and docents, which contribute a great deal to the development of scientific interests, love for science, and a striving toward scientific research. It is also known, however, that the lecture form of training, despite its unquestionable values, does not offer adequate possibilities for becoming familiar with the students and for energizing their thinking. That is why we are justifiably seeking new methods to introduce greater variety in lectures and stimulate the original thinking of the students. Along with the requirements of the indicated principles, and within their own framework, experiments are underway to individualize training through programmed teaching and for the formulation of problems to be discussed and developed before or during the lecture.

Noteworthy, for example, is a method known as "brainstorming," practiced by many universities. It calls for small groups of five to seven people to suggest as many as possible original ideas on a given problem in the process of collective thinking. Discussions in the course of the lecture and, particularly, at seminars play an important role as well.

The better organization of seminars and laboratory exercises aimed at blending studies with scientific research is of great importance. The answers to the question of the significance of the various forms of practical exercises, asked in the course of our investigation, reveal the relative significance (expressed in percentages) they are ascribed: assigning tasks for independent work in class, 36.67 percent; upgrading the level of classes, 33.3 percent; and assigning tasks for independent work outside the classroom, 30 percent. Very important in terms of the more effective training of scientific cadres is for seminars and laboratory exercises to involve the participation of personnel with degrees rather than teaching assistants only.

This would offer better opportunities for the implementation of another important project: including the students in the scientific work of the departments. With a variety of lectures and improved efficiency of practical exercises the possibility is obtained to become better acquainted with students displaying a capacity for engaging in more important scientific tasks so that they may be included in groups headed by noted professors. With such guidance and in the course of resolving important scientific problems such hopeful students master the knowledge and methods of research which will be important in all their future activities. The publication of collective works resulting from such activities plays a strongly stimulating role in including the young person in the creative scientific process.

We are aware of the significance of term and graduation works and the participation in scientific circles, design bureaus, scientific sessions, exhibits of scientific and technical creativity, and other similar methods through which we train and select scientific cadres. Long years of observation have convinced me that students who prove their worth in circles I have advised sooner or later prove themselves to be capable scientific workers and university teachers.

This is confirmed also by the results of the investigation I mentioned in which the forms of work used in directing the students toward scientific research could be assessed on the basis of the following percentages: participation in scientific circles, 20.31 percent; graduation projects, 12.5 percent; independent assignments related to lectures and exercises, 10.94 percent; organized consultations, 10.94 percent; independent extra-curricular assignments, 9.38 percent; joining department scientific groups, 9.38 percent; free consultations, 7.81 percent, and so on.

The role of the various forms of post-graduation qualification such as one or two year attendance of Block B, newly set up in some departments, for excelling students, the already established system of post-graduate and doctoral studies, and long-term specialization at home and abroad is unquestionable. Favorable conditions for such forms of study were established following the integration between higher educational institutions and scientific research institutes, the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences in particular. This enables us to make better use of both the material facilities and personnel of these institutions.

Favorable conditions are also being created with the trend toward integration among scientific-teaching units and production enterprises, with their scientific and development bases. In the production units the students are directed toward an understanding of the scientific foundations of the production process. They see the problems raised by reality and, in some cases, are able to make use of the technical and material possibilities presented by the enterprise. Here conditions exist for linking scientific creativity with the invention and rationalization activities of the working people and for discovering valuable talents for the development of science among workers as well.

Last but not least is the role of the training which young scientific workers acquire in the institutes in which they work. With proper relations between old and young cadres, i.e., with the existence in some of the desire to learn and respect the old cadres and the readiness of the latter to share their knowledge and experience a great deal could be accomplished both in terms of continuity and new scientific achievements. A particularly favorable situation prevails when a young person finds himself within a unit with an already developed specific school of thought.

Under such conditions as well as with other relations between old and young and, respectively, between teachers and students (such relations are not always the same), interactions exist as the result of which not only the teacher gives something to the students but, in turn, they influence the teacher, on the one hand, with their reactions to his influence and, on the other, with the fresher ideas of the young. In the first case we have a mechanism similar to a "feedback" which plays the role of regulator in reciprocal relations; in the second case we have the mechanism of catalyster of new ideas. In both cases possibilities for greater creative accomplishments by both students and teachers (or advisors) are obtained.

In conclusion, we could state that effective training largely resolves the problem of the selection of scientific cadres as well. This does not exclude some additional methods to be used to this effect. However, this responsible task could be resolved only by combining rational educational measures and complex studies. A vivid example of such studies is provided by the psychology department of Leningrad University where the students are studied in the course of their entire term of studies.

Such a study includes anthropometric and medical examinations, and physiological studies of higher nervous activities; psychological tests are used to study sensory, psychomotor, intellectual, and emotional processes and characteristics, as well as the characteristic features and social status of the students. It is true that such studies are not directly focused on the choice of scientific cadres. Nevertheless, they offer adequate data in this respect as well.

In addition to laboratory methods other more easily accessible methods may be used. One of them is to assess the student on the basis of certain indicators such as participation in scientific research, submitted papers, materials printed, participation in local or national reviews and exhibits, awards earned, participation in scientific collectives and scientific expeditions, and other scientific manifestations. The level of intellectual development and the personality characteristics of the student are taken into consideration.

Should it become necessary to choose among scientific workers who have already proved their abilities corresponding more complex indicators are used as well such as, for example, the quantity and quality of scientific output, degree of originality and independence, assessment by colleagues, advisors, or the press, participation in national and international conferences, membership in scientific societies and attendance of seminars, participation in collective topics and other collective initiatives, awards and scientific degrees earned, and the most characteristic personality features.

It is obvious that the reliability of such assessments depends on the competence and objectiveness of the individuals who make them. That is why, whenever possible, we must combine them with some objective study methods provided by modern experimental psychology.

In conclusion, let us wish that both secondary and higher schools pay greater attention not only to lagging students, as is frequently the case, but also to those who advance faster, who display greater gifts but who also present no less serious problems in terms of education and training.

5003
CSO: 2200

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HUSAK'S VISIT TO WEST GERMANY CANCELLED

Bonn DIE WELT in German 28 Feb 77 pp 1, 2

[Article by Bernt Conrad: "Why Husak is Postponing his Visit to the Rhine"]

[Text] In the view of government circles in Bonn the political situation is not favorable for a visit by the Czechoslovak State and Party Chief Gustav Husak to the Federal Republic. Therefore, Husak is no longer expected in Bonn this year due both to the controversy surrounding the Prague "Chapter 77" and to the espionage affair divulged by CTK [Czechoslovak News Agency] correspondent Simko. The CDU/CSU Bundestag fraction called for the official expulsion of members of the CSSR Delegation in Bonn suspected of espionage. The Fraction's spokesman on security matters Karl Miltner declared to the DIE WELT that it was high time for the federal government to make an example of "spies with the status of diplomats."

The Czechoslovak State and Party Chief Gustav Husak is not expected to pay his long-planned visit to the FRG this year. According to a report from German government circles the political situation is not favorable. This assessment is based both on the controversy surrounding the Prague "Charter 77" and on the espionage activity of the Czechoslovak embassy in Bonn divulged by CTK correspondent Svetozar Simko.

Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt invited Husak to visit Germany in 1975 during the European Conference on Security in Helsinki. But no date was set for the visit either then or the following year because first the resettlement of Germans from the CSSR which has come to a standstill was to start again. But by the end of 1975 and at the beginning of 1976 the practice of granting exit permits by the CSSR authorities was as restrictive as before even though Husak promised the Chancellor that it would be liberalized.

The number of settlers did not increase until the middle of last year. While that still did not quite satisfy Bonn's wishes, it contributed to the expecting of Husak's visit in 1977. But the recent reprisals against human rights advocates in the CSSR again cooled the political climate.

The espionage affair involving the CSSR embassy subsequently increased Bonn's disinclination for an early state visit from Prague. Therefore, Husak will probably come to the FRG in 1978 at the earliest.

In contrast, it is certain that Hungarian Party Chief Janos Kadar will soon pay a formal visit to the government on the Rhine. However, he is not expected in the federal capital in March, as originally planned, but in early summer. The reasons for the postponement are reportedly technical.

Kadar obviously does not want to postpone his visit until after the visit of Soviet Communist Party General Secretary Leonid Brezhnev in Bonn who, according to German and Soviet information, will not meet Federal Chancellor Schmidt until late summer or fall. The exact date for the visit depends on when Brezhnev will personally meet with the U.S. President Jimmy Carter and when Schmidt meets Carter. Before visiting Bonn Brezhnev will certainly fly to Paris for a visit with Giscard d'Estaing.

The upcoming continuation of the American-Soviet Salt II negotiations and the follow-up to the Conference on European Security in Belgrade will play an important role in setting the dates for all East-West talks. In this connection diplomats are pointing out that nothing much will happen yet at the meeting of CSCE ambassadors prepared for June. The actual political discussion is not expected to take place until the fall at a conference of foreign ministers or their deputies.

8664
CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

INNOVATOR MOVEMENT IN NVA DESCRIBED

East Berlin DER NEUERER in German Oct 76 pp 329-332

[Article by Deputy Minister of National Defense and Head of Equipment and Armaments Lt Gen W. Fleissner: "GDR Innovators in the NVA and the Border Guards Are Fulfilling the Tasks Imposed by the Ninth Party Congress With Productive Enthusiasm"]

[Text] The ninth party congress assigned to the NVA [National People's Army] the class task of reliably protecting socialist order and the peaceful life of the citizens of the German Democratic Republic and all states of the socialist community against all attacks by the aggressive forces of imperialism and reaction, guaranteeing the inviolability of the state borders, the territorial waters and the protection of the continental base of the GDR and through a high fighting force and constant combat readiness to ward off imperialist aggression at any time and dealing a decisive defeat to the enemy, side by side and in firm comradeship-in-arms with the glorious Soviet Army.

This imposes on all superiors the task of insuring such fighting power and combat readiness which could meet these stringent demands every day and at any hour.

To this end modern equipment and outfitting are available to our soldiers, permitting them to fulfill the military class assignment honorably even under the most difficult conditions.

The development of science and technology has led in the last two decades to fundamental changes in all areas of the military field too.

The troops are receiving improved equipment and armaments at ever shorter time intervals. This has resulted in a considerable increase of their fighting power and combat readiness.

In this way various types of rocket weapons were developed and introduced into the armed forces.

Among other things the degree of motorization and mechanization of the armed forces increased through the supply of new, more efficient types of armored personnel carriers, tanks, artillery systems, fighter planes, ships and motor vehicles.

The introduction of electronic equipment on a mass scale makes it possible to lead troops in accordance with the demands of modern warfare.

The qualitative improvement of fighting power of ground troops becomes evident for example in the more than 30-fold increase of the effect of an artillery salvo by a motorized infantry division compared with a World War II infantry division.

Engine power per soldier has increased from 20 to 40 HP.

Troops of the anti-aircraft defense have received modern anti-aircraft rocket complexes. The socialist armies have gained a new quality also by the equipping of their air forces.

In comparison with 1945 flying speed increased threefold, the practical ceiling twofold and the radius two to threefold.

A fundamental change also occurred in the fighting technique of the naval forces, where all achievements of the scientific-technical revolution were put to use, from nuclear energy to rockets and electronics. Not the least proof of this are the rocket speedboats of our people's navy.

These qualitatively new weapons and technical equipment, especially the rockets, have fundamentally changed the military character of a modern war.

They impose new requirements on the structure of the armed forces, the education and combat training of the troops, the leadership of the troops and combat readiness.

It is obvious that the revolution in the military field is in no way limited to the introduction of new military equipment but involves the armed forces as a whole. In addition, in the socialist military system man is at the center of all deliberations and conclusions. No ever so high armaments standard, including the introduction of electronic data processing, and complicated control, measuring and regulating technology can replace the crucial role of a consciously acting man, with his high creative combat and moral qualities.

The soldier's fighting spirit, as well as his armament and equipment, are decisive for victory over the adversary.

Man is not a mere operator of modern technology, but his awareness, courage and steadfastness, as well as his ability to master new equipment and weapons to perfection are in the end decisive for the fighting power and combat readiness of the armed forces.

The report of the Central Committee to the ninth party congress therefore also says:

"The demands on the well-rounded preparation of the members of the army, on their military and military-technical knowledge and abilities, and on their physical performance, but primarily on their class consciousness and their political-moral and psychological firmness, are increasing in the measure in which ever more modern weapons and manifold new and complicated equipment is being introduced into the NVA.

This calls not only for a higher level of education and training in the NVA and the border guards of the GDR but also for a new quality of preparatory military training altogether. This opens up a wide field of activity in sports and technology to innovators both in the armed forces and in society.

The Basic Objective of Innovators

The basic objective of the innovator movement in the armed forces has always been to influence actively the formation of socialist consciousness in members of the army and civilian employees, promote responsibility, initiative and creativity, and to develop technical and military-economic thinking as well as the abilities and experiences of every individual and collective, in order to increase fighting power, and combat and mobilization readiness.

The ever more rational use and more effective employment of all personnel, time, and all material-technical and financial resources, their application for maximum benefit to the troops, and in addition the saving of material and financial resources, are therefore not measures born of necessity but measures characteristic of the socialist defense of the country, in the interest of the utmost military advantage.

Some citizens of our republic ask whether there is still sufficient room for the work of innovators in an army where everything is done on a command basis.

The answer is an unequivocal yes.

What does the activity of innovators in the NVA and the Border Guards primarily aim at? Members of the army are being assigned innovator tasks by commanders which are derived from the political, military, and military-economic tasks of the respective troop component.

In this way innovators are being assigned tasks which directly serve the fulfillment of the military class assignment. This includes means and methods for the improvement of material-technical and organizational conditions, for political education and combat training and measures designed to reduce norm times in various fields.

Another objective of the work of innovators is the improvement of the quality of the use, maintenance and repair of combat equipment and armaments.

The issue in the military economic area among other things is economy in the use of spare parts and supplies without limiting training and combat readiness. The objective here is the efficient utilization of the training bases of weapons and equipment.

The same applies to the training time which is also important. As in all other social spheres of our republic the important thing in our sphere too is the efficient use and economical employment of all material and financial resources.

Finally, our innovators are also solving tasks dealing with the rationalization of staff and administrative work and the improvement of service, work and living conditions of members of the army and civilian employees.

But the main field of activity of the innovators in the armed forces is and remains combat training. All other work of our innovators is more or less directed towards the solution of this principal task.

Innovators in troop components and units support their commanders in the overall implementation of training tasks, whose primary objective is to insure a training standard of army members and operational readiness of equipment which would permit going into action at any time.

Competition Develops Creative Initiatives

These objectives call for a close relationship between the innovator movement and socialist competition.

Competition fosters the development of creative initiatives aimed at fulfilling and undercutting norms. The experiences of the best thus become the standard for all.

Competition helps to overcome outmoded ideas, spurs to greater efforts and leads to increased efficiency. In this connection, the party expects that the innovator movement will enjoy the support of the commanders, the political organs, the FDJ [Free German Youth] and the trade union organizations, that its quality will be further raised and that it will be organized into a mass movement.

As a result of the purposeful work of commanders at all levels and of their steadfast support we can point to outstanding accomplishments.

A Favorable Balance

The results achieved so far in 1976 stress that the continuing favorable development in the innovator and MMM [Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow] movement has been maintained since the eighth party congress. The quality of the innovations has improved. More proposals aimed at an immediate increase of the fighting power and combat readiness of formations and troop components are being used every year.

Since the eighth party congress approximately 95,000 army members and civilian employees have participated in the innovator and MMM movement and have advanced about 60,000 proposals.

Each year approximately 15 Fairs of the Masters of Tomorrow have been organized jointly with Soviet rationalizers and inventors.

Some 10,000 exhibits have been shown at the fairs, about 70 percent of which were used for the fulfillment of political and military tasks.

The innovator movement has been strengthened and oriented successfully towards the struggle for economy in the consumption of energy, fuel, materials and secondary raw materials. The innovations submitted dealing with these areas represent a great financial saving. But this is by far exceeded by the military gain because it contributes to the ever better fulfillment of the tasks of the NVA as a modern effective coalition army.

Planned Long-Range Cooperation with Soviet Comrades-in-Arms

Cooperation with innovators and rationalizers of the Group of the Soviet Armed Forces in Germany is of great political and military importance.

Innovators and their organs at all levels of command of the armies allied with us have for more than 10 years been cooperating on the basis of joint plans and many a complicated task has in this way been solved by joint effort. These plans formulate exactly the objectives of joint work by innovators and stipulate that the results of such cooperation should be evaluated at joint exhibits and fairs as well as at the Central Conference of Innovators of the NVA and the GDR Border Guards.

Further, on the basis of stipulations derived from the central plan of joint measures which are being implemented in formations and troop components, periodic exchanges of experiences between innovator aktivs of the NVA and the border guards and those of the Soviet partner unit will take place.

These meetings will discuss the most suitable form of innovator work, their inclusion into socialist competition, joint preparation of innovations and other substantive and technical and organizational measures. Many exhibits which will be shown at the jointly organized Fairs of the Masters of Tomorrow in military formations and at the annual GDR Fair of the Masters of Tomorrow held in Leipzig, are the result of the cooperation and exchange of experiences among comrades-in-arms.

MMM Educates Socialist Personalities

The MMM movement occupies an important place in the armed forces. It is equally important for the class-conscious education of the soldiers and the development of fighting power and combat readiness because they guarantee the unity of political mass initiatives and practical trial. Under conditions of military life it combines creative drive and inventive spirit meaningfully with responsibility for the protection of our socialist society.

The struggle for the conscious fulfillment of tasks in political education and combat training, in the securing of state borders and the military service system promote innovation activity and the fighting spirit. Steadfast characters who will neither tolerate mediocrity nor be discouraged by difficulties, who forever forge ahead, strive for military excellence and carry the collective with them to great achievements.

In a word, the MMM movement helps to educate socialist personalities.

We are further developing this aspect of the MMM movement quite consciously because we must educate the constantly changing flow of young people into socialist class fighters.

To Promote Readiness

Recruits entering the military service today are eager for action. They want to develop activity and initiative. They demonstrate a developed will for achievement which is affirmed over and over again in socialist competition and in the solving of complicated military tasks. In addition, they manifest an increasing degree of competence.

The large proportion of 10th and 12th graders in the basic military service leads to an increasing level of general education in our army.

More than 80 percent of the recruits coming to us every 6 months are qualified skilled workers.

Many have proven themselves by fulfilling important national economic tasks and have acquired political education as functionaries of the FDJ or the Society for Sports and Technology [GST].

Many recruits participated actively in the innovator movement in enterprises and agricultural production cooperatives before they joined the NVA and the GDR Border Guards.

Naturally, these experienced innovators are in the first place a welcome addition to the innovator collectives in troop components and units.

We endeavor to raise the qualification of these innovators further to make sure that they remain active in the innovator movement also after their discharge from military service. We have already achieved many a success in this way as demonstrated by the many reservists working as active innovators in industry, agriculture, the GST and in other fields whom we meet again every year at the MMM in Leipzig.

The new recruit encounters essentially the same provisions and conditions for innovator work in the NVA which he was hitherto used to from his activity in industry or agriculture. The innovator and MMM movement in the NVA is organized according to GDR laws with some modification conditioned by the military life. The submission, registration, and confirmation of the innovative proposal, cooperation with the innovator aktiv of the troop component and other known forms such as the Innovator Plan, the conclusion of innovator agreements, and other conditions arising from legal provisions are being applied in the NVA just as in all other GDR state installations.

The Many-Sidedness of Innovator Work

In many troop components and units discussions with soldiers are already held during their basic training to find out what occupational qualifications they possess, what special interests they have and how ready they are to cooperate in the innovator movement.

The young soldiers receive an explanation of the importance of the innovator movement in the NVA in the course of these discussions.

They perceive in their participation possibilities for their personal further education and for meaningful leisure time activity aimed at increasing combat readiness of the units. In fighting collectives such readiness must receive concrete expression. The inclusion of the innovator plan in the personal pledges and in the fighting programs for socialist competition has proven very useful.

Members of our party, FDJ officials, and above all specialists fulfill their obligation to the innovator movement by their exemplary actions as innovators, as well as advocates of the continued development of the innovator movement.

As leaders of innovator collectives they pass their professional military knowledge and experiences on to the young members of the army and draw them

into the work of the collective by their ideas and thirst for action, whereby a further development of their socialist personality is achieved in addition to the valuable military results achieved through the solution of an innovator task.

The military technical work pursued in circles of the FDJ organizations in troop components and units has also proven valuable. This activity in circles has an important objective, namely to win all young army members and border guard soldiers for innovator work. Many soldiers became enthusiastic about innovator work by their activity in circles.

In military circles soldiers delve deeply into the problems of operating, maintaining, and repairing equipment and weapons and gain an interest in collective creative brainstorming.

Brainstorming has increasingly developed into an accepted method. It helps discover worthwhile innovator projects to work on.

Most of these methods have long been known to the soldiers from their enterprises in one form or another.

We expect that each generation of recruits will apply their experience acquired in practice.

The experience we have gained so far has demonstrated that the military benefits accruing from creative work, the contribution to the mastery of the tasks which the SED program has assigned to national defense, are increasing with the omnilateral support given to the innovator movement.

"To maintain the standard of national defense at the level of modern requirements," so says the program, "calls for a high quality of Marxist-Leninist education and military training of the members of the NVA and of other armed organs."

To be an innovator in the NVA and the GDR Border Guards means to stand in the frontline of those who translate the class assignment of the Ninth SED Congress into action in an exemplary manner.

8664
CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

SOLDIER'S LETTERS REFLECT CONDITIONS IN NVA

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German No 9, 21 Feb 77 pp 38-52

[Excerpts from East German soldier's letters: "I Lost My Illusions"]

[Text] "Honest, brave, disciplined, and alert"--That is the way the SED leadership wants its soldier. Each year, 50,000 draftees are inducted. The 18-month training in the National People's Army (157,000 men) was described by a 22-year old recruit in letters to his mother and brother. DER SPIEGEL is herewith publishing excerpts.

20 November--526 days to go.

Dear Martin,

I was very happy to get your letter. Things are not too good with me. I realize that service with the National People's Army was not going to be a picnic. But I did not figure that I would be wallowing in shit the way I am now. All hell broke loose here. We are getting very tough training. In an area, in which we are supposed to go into action when the shooting starts, we are supposed to stop an entire armored division--just one motorized rifle regiment against one armored division!

Today, in an awful downpour, wearing gas masks, we had to dig some slit trenches for ourselves in the prone position. By the time we were through, we were thoroughly soaked and filthy. After that we had to attack a 200-meter high, steep mud hill--wearing the gas masks, of course.

On our return hike, we had to run for about one kilometer, wearing our gas masks. And that of course with full gear: combat pack, overcoat, part 1, atomic cape, and submachine gun. With all that gear you can hardly move. And that wasn't followed by a break. For a solid two hours we had to practice our parade step before we got a nice lunch: sour pearl barley. The stuff was cold and like slime. Like the stuff you blow out of your nose. Last week the whole regiment refused to eat lunch because the potatoes stank. There were 1,500 men rioting in the mess hall but nothing changed.

Today I am on 24-hour duty: 2 hours guard duty, 2 hours sleep. Otherwise we are on duty from 0600 until 2200. Mostly on the double. The whole thing would be bearable if our superiors were not so nasty. Sometimes I think that things could not have been worse under the Nazis. For example, if, while cleaning your weapon, you drop a part, you have to make 10-20 pushups. During that exercise, the section leader puts his foot under your belly with the point of the boot upward so that you cannot touch the floor or so that you cannot even rest for a second.

One soldier refused to obey an order given by a section leader (he was supposed to stop eating although he had been sitting at the table for only 2 minutes). Wearing his gas mask, he had to crawl down the stairs and run around the block once. And we are on the third floor. Other fellows had to clean the latrine. And when they can't do the job with wire, they have to do it by hand. Then of course you are in shit over your elbows.

Two fellows happened to be whistling in the hallway. On the 50-meter long hallway, they had to wash the baseboard and at the same time keep whistling loud and clear. Duckwalks and pushups are the order of the day. The company also was punished by having to do some extra drill. They also let us know that, when the balloon goes up, we could be shot if we refused to obey an order. By the way, there is a lot of talk about the time when the shooting starts. Sometimes it gets downright scary.

In spite of everything, I am beginning to get used to it. I don't know anymore what civilian life is like. We are not allowed to listen to the news. We have to depend on what the political officer tells us.

22 November

Dear Mother,

Early this morning we took the oath. That was the biggest circus I have so far experienced in the army. We had been practicing for this event for many days. Today, of all things, when everything was supposed to come off smoothly, somehow the hurrah shouting did not sound so good. Somehow, the 500 men, who were supposed to be sworn in, got all mixed up. The regimental commander rolled his eyes and the topkicks ran around like chickens with their heads cut off. For that we had to police up the area for about an hour. Every leaf in the barracks compound had to be picked up.

During the swearing-in ceremony itself everything came off alright.

("I swear:

"Always loyally to serve the German Democratic Republic, my fatherland, and to protect it against any foe when ordered to do so by the worker-and-peasant government.

"I swear:

"Side by side with the Soviet Army and the armies of the socialist countries allied with us, as soldier of the National People's Army, at all times to be ready to defend socialism against all foes and to risk my life to win victory.

"I swear:

"To be an honest, brave, disciplined, and alert soldier, unconditionally to obey my military superiors, to carry out orders with complete resoluteness, and always strictly to protect military and government secrets.

"I swear:

"Conscientiously to acquire military knowledge, to carry out military regulations, and always and everywhere to preserve the honor of our republic and its National People's Army.

"Should I ever violate my solemn oath to the flag, then may the harsh punishment of the laws of our republic and the contempt of the working people strike me.")

Well, for a whole hour we stood, ramrod straight and we had to smile at a fat fellow who ran around with a saber and who hardly managed to lift his legs up for all the blubber on him. The band also played nicely off-key.

On the day after, we were allowed to sleep one hour longer and we had no morning calisthenics. At breakfast, they even put tablecloths on the tables. On the day we took the oath, our company commander was decorated like a Christmas tree. On the whole, we had a lot of fun. There are 18 of us in our room and we get along great.

Our NCO is only 20 years old. He is a nasty character. If I should ever run into him after I get out of the army, I will give him a good kick in the ass. He couldn't be more stupid and is all spit and polish. An NCO from another squad the day before yesterday caught one in his chops in the dark but was unable to recognize the fellow who did it. Now he runs around without his spectacles. But this sort of thing does no good. The NCO who gets beaten up only becomes nastier afterward.

29 November

Dear Martin,

At the end of last week, we completed our basic training with a real tough 45-kilometer hike. Some of the fellows keeled over and had to be carried or supported by the others. The hike was so difficult because we also had to drag along our overcoats, combat pack, ammunition pouch, gas mask, part 1 with shelterhalf, atomic cape, and submachine gun. During the hike of course we had some of those cute little surprises like "gas," "atomic strike," "low-flying aircraft coming in on the right," "artillery fire coming in from forward," etc.

"Staff Officers Keep Checking on Our Training Level"

Now we still have six such hikes ahead of us. Some day, most probably, you too will have the pleasure, if they draft you into the people's infantry. Today the fellows slated for discharge start counting the days. They only have 150 days left. Today our company has been assigned as alert company. We have to sleep in full uniform, with our submachine guns ready within reach.

2 December

Dear Mother, Dear Martin,

This is the second day we have been on combat alert. The motto here seems to be: anything goes so long as it makes you tough. I do not know whether this toughness is needed because of the political situation or whether this just happens to be tough training. Several times a day they sound the combat alert and we double-time to our standby area 5 kilometers away.

High-ranking staff officers keep coming over to check on our training progress. Today we had to struggle with our atomic capes. The Russians, who are very close by, were also on the move. Yesterday, our training sessions were so difficult that even one NCO had to be dragged away--and that means a lot because the NCOs don't have to drag any gear along.

"They Always Show Russian Films in the Regimental Movie Theater"

By the way, we have to open every little parcel we get in the presence of an NCO. They have something to criticize when your parcel came: there was a Western company address on the cardboard box. It is a miracle that they did not object to the Western razor.

7 December

Dear Martin,

Tonight I can go to the regimental movie theater. They are showing a Russian movie, like always. But we always have fun when they do. Most of the time you cannot hear much of the movie because they make so much of a racket. Whenever any female between the ages of 16 and 60 shows up on the screen, the whole bunch howls like a herd of buffalo at rutting time. On the screen, the Soviet soldiers always somehow manage to pull off the craziest heroic deeds.

In conclusion I would like to pass on to you a comment made by an NCO in talking to a soldier: "I am going to kick your ass; and then you will see two red flares going up but that will not be the kind of flares you see when there is a gas alert; they will be your balls!"

At one time, a soldier had to go to the toilet during training. He asked the lieutenant to be allowed to leave but only received the laconic reply: "Let it run down your leg into your boot!" As you can see, we have some very friendly superiors--real comrades in arms.

19 December

Hello, folks,

Getting back from leave, I find it very difficult once again to perform my "honorary service" effectively and creatively. Today, starting at 2200, we are going out on a night problem. We are going to have to crawl around in the slush and try to have some hot thoughts. Wind and weather after all are not supposed to bother us. We must at any time be ready to "confront the class enemy" and "to wipe him out in his own territory."

Recently we were in Weimar and visited the former concentration camp at Buchenwald on the way back, a soldier came to blows with a superior. A junior lieutenant got hit twice and the soldier involved is going to be court-martialled. The officer of course struck the first blow. For the time being, the soldier was punished with four days in the guardhouse over Christmas. We realize that it is silly to rebel; but sometimes the humiliation gets to be almost unbearable.

1 January

Dear Martin,

On New Year's Eve things looked pretty bad because in the morning we still had to hop around wearing our beloved atomic capes. But in the evening we got two bottles of beer per man plus two cups of punch (more like dishwater). But our superiors really hit the bottle. The captain was so drunk around midnight that he stood on the table and directed our singing. Then we marched through the barracks, wearing our sweatsuits and steel helmet, carrying a candle and howling like mad. After that, our superiors embraced and hugged each other and we got some rest at last.

24 January

Dear Martin,

It won't be long before I too will be a candidate for discharge, starting to count the days. Right now I am still a recruit (1st-6th month). Recruit time is the worst of all. But when you get to be a discharge candidate, you just muddle along and you rarely run in step. You don't have to put your gas mask on either anymore and you can soft-soap your section leaders. I goof-off whenever I can--otherwise I would be breaking my back.

This noon we returned from the firing range. There we spent the night in sheds. We were completely filthy and half starved. No leave is as yet in sight although I got a grade of 1 for all firing exercises.

1 February

Dear Mother,

On Wednesday and Thursday, we completed our topic 13 (hike). It came to just about 70 kilometers! We spent the night in tents. It was so cold, we were unable to sleep. Thursday morning we were attacked by another company. They threw dummy hand grenades into our tents and we almost had heart attacks, we were that scared. Then, with our bones frozen stiff, we had to crawl through the underbrush and make sure that they did not capture us or grab our weapons away from us. I ran like a rabbit. The attack came so unexpectedly that our defense collapsed.

The company commander roared like a bull but we preferred to take off like hell. Only one of us wanted to resist. As reward, the "enemy" cracked him over his skull with his submachine gun. He is still confined to the barracks and tends to his wounds.

15 February

Dear Mother,

I might perhaps get to be a clerk at regimental HQ soon. I have already had several interviews with a major. He thinks I would be a good man for the job. All I need is a recommendation from my shop and a police good-conduct certificate. Once I get assigned to HQ, I don't have to participate in any further training. At HQ I will be handling classified matter and I therefore have to have a good political reputation.

22 February

Dear Martin,

This is my 16th week under the colors. It won't be long now and the first half year will be over. Today I still have 429 full days ahead of me. If you should ever get drafted, I would suggest to you that you earn the 5th-class or 3rd-class driver's license before hand. Then you can either get to be an officer's driver or you can drive an APC. Things are too tough if you wind up as an ordinary beetlecrusher.

"The Officers of course Warmed Their Asses"

5 March

Dear Mother,

Yesterday we returned from a company exercise. On the first day, we hiked 40 kilometers and at night we froze miserably. We had to dig foxholes for ourselves and lie there, in position, 4 hours, at several degrees below zero. We were not allowed to start any fires--for "tactical reasons."

But the officers of course warmed their asses in the heater tent and drank brandy. This is where you find out that you are lower than dirt when you are a common soldier. And they call the whole thing "honorary service." Nobody can tell me anything about that.

6 March

Dear Martin,

Things have been popping here ever since 0230. A couple of the fellows and I were able to goof-off just in time. Now we are lying lazy in our beds and we are doing what you might call personal physical culture. Of course, you mustn't get caught doing this. But after 4 months in the service, you know how to do it and get away with it. If you are going to be in on everything, then you never get any rest. None of us wants to be real "GI" or be considered an "eager beaver." Tomorrow at noon I can go home until Monday because I happened to be real gung-ho at the right moment. This is the only way you can muddle through those 18 months.

"You only See Serious Faces--Hardly Anybody ever Makes Fun"

12 April

Dear Martin,

I had a nice leave. When I returned to the barracks, they told me to pick up my little satchel (combat pack). We were off, on a battalion combat exercise. Our whole battalion launched an attack and kept it up for 3 days. We got no rest at all. They constantly kept us going with "charge!" or "Dig in!" Night and day. And they fired live ammunition. The enemy positions were indicated with camouflaged targets which we had to shoot down.

We had to secure our flanks during a tank attack. In the process, a buddy of mine and I almost reached the end of the line. During the night, we ran into an enemy AT ditch. The Engineers had the mission of dumping the dirt back into the ditch and blowing up the wire obstacles. A buddy of mine and I were supposed to secure the flank of the Engineers detachment. After the obstacle had been removed, the tanks broke through.

But suddenly, they drew fire from an enemy position. The tanks turned off and headed for the enemy, full speed. So far so good but my buddy and I stupidly enough happened to be lying in the middle. We ran around between the tanks and the enemy positions like a couple of farts. I could see myself being ground up by the tank treads.

After those monsters had passed by, we had to sit down and then we could start trembling all over. The battalion CO had watched the whole thing and was real happy that nothing had happened to us. He let us rest for the remainder of the night and gave us his cigarettes. I think that he had

more in his pants than we did. Except for one fellow, who caught a ricochet in his shin, everybody got through the exercise alright.

25 April--367 days to go!

Dear Mother,

We went on another hike on Tuesday. Out of 91 men, only 32 made it to the firing range. The others had to be picked up along the way and driven over. One fellow even had a heart attack and screamed bloody murder. He turned blue and had to be taken to the nearest hospital.

I would like to know what the civilians think as we drag through the villages, dirty and sweaty. You only see serious faces; hardly anybody ever makes fun of us. Not infrequently, they offer us coffee and cigarettes. Many know what we are going through.

But now I am in the clear. Since yesterday, I have been on duty with the regimental HQ. I went through two conferences with an agent from the Ministry of State Security.

4 May

Dear Mother,

The raw recruits came jogging in today. We had a lot of fun when we saw their long faces. One of them right away refused to pick up a rifle. He also said that he would not take the oath. He was immediately removed from the barracks and transferred to the construction engineers (shovel company). There he won't have to do any shooting and he takes a different oath. But on the other hand he has to work real hard there. There is no opportunity for goofing off there.

14 June

Dear Mother,

The only thing that bothers me here is that I keep getting all the shit details. Very often this has nothing whatsoever to do with me but I simply have to put up with it. At HQ, they only have officers from the rank of captain on up and they of course always blame me when something goes wrong. A major or a lieutenant colonel simply doesn't make any mistakes. Because, on top of everything else, they put me in charge of the keys to the armory, things look pretty bad far as leave is concerned.

"At the Age of 50, Officers Are Entitled to Retirement Pay"

They have many accidents in the tank units but very little ever gets out into the open. I find out about these things only because I am assigned to HQ. This stuff hardly gets outside the barracks.

19 July--282 days to go!

Dear Mother,

Next Tuesday we are going out into the field again for a couple of days. All this is part of our preparations for the big autumn maneuvers. In the winter we will not have any further exercises because the regiment by then will have used up its gasoline issue.

2 August--268 days to go!

Dear Mother,

On Wednesday we celebrated another milestone on the way out. Now our motto is: "When the buds come out in May we will go the other way!"

During one of the field exercises, they started talking to me, trying to get me to become an officer. They wanted to drive me over to see the general so that I could be transferred to officer candidate school on 1 September, without the usual formalities. I was happy when they left me alone. It is no easy thing when you have to discuss such a ticklish topic with the regimental CO and a handful of lieutenant colonels and majors.

Well, six years ago I might have been interested in the offer. But then they didn't want me. Now I look at the world through different eyes and shoulder boards and medals don't bother me no more. I really can't see where the army makes any sense. It is a big pain in the neck for everybody. Without that institution, we all would be better off. This sort of thing doesn't go in the 20th century anymore.

17 September--222 days to go:

Dear Mother,

While on leave, I talked to my former boss. After I get out of the army, I will take correspondence courses in political science for 4 years. I could also study on-campus but, after I get out of the army, I don't want to have to go college in another city for another 3 years.

Being a career officer really doesn't attract me although this sort of thing does have its advantages. After 3 years at officer candidate school, I would be a 2nd lieutenant or 1st lieutenant. After another 3 years of service as company commander, I would have to serve for 1 year as battalion executive officer or commander. That is the requirement for starting a 3-year course at the Friedrich-Engels Academy in Dresden or at the Frunze Academy in Moscow.

After that I would be a regimental commander or a regimental executive officer. I would then make around M2,000. That would be a nice career which of course you could manage only if you are a correct officer who is relentless toward his subordinates.

At the age of 50, officers are entitled to retirement pay and continue to draw the pay they got at their last rank as retirement pay. Of course, you can also fall into disgrace and get no further than captain. In other words, there is a risk at any rate.

Now we are in the midst of our maneuver preparations. The Russian language, especially the technical terms, give us the most trouble.

24 October--185 days to go!

Dear Mother,

My unit got through the maneuvers alright, except for one soldier who died in the hospital after having had an accident. This accident hit all of us real hard. The fellow was only 20 years old and would have been discharged in just 5 days.

Of course, the maneuvers were real tough. I am glad that I won't have to go through any more. Still, it was an experience which I will someday like to recall. We were able to observe cooperation among all arms of the service and for the first time we got a real good impression how complicated an attack by several divisions really is.

29 November--150 days to go!

Dear Mother,

I am constantly tired and I have headaches. Our "job" doesn't happen to be an easy one. We are often praised and they give us all kinds of multicolored badges. Besides, it is an "honor" to be on duty at regimental HQ. Yesterday we marked another milestone in our service. At last the moment for which we had been waiting for 13 months had come. This has been the nicest evening since I joined the army.

1 March--58 days to go!

Dear Mother,

This week we again went out on a 3-day exercise. We were very close to you all. My "ass was really dragging," the way they put it so nicely. The roads were muddy and one tank was lying on its back in the ditch. The crew is now in the hospital with broken bones. The crew of another tank was able barely to jump off before the tank flipped over. Yes, you have to be careful if you don't want to get wiped out in the army.

One man got killed when the tanks were loaded on railroad cars. A fellow got caught between two tanks and was squeezed to death. He was dead right away. The driver of one tank got a heart attack right away and it took us the whole night to get him to talk again.

28 March--31 days to go!

Dear Mother,

You won't be getting many more letters from me from here because my "time" is drawing to a close. Then I can use the return ticket which the topkick has been keeping in his safe since November 1974 and we can pick up our civilian things. They don't discharge anybody wearing a sweatsuit; that would not be good for the prestige of the worker-and-peasant government.

"My Former Company Is only Drunk Now"

4 April--24 days to go!

Dear Mother,

The last few days are almost unbearable. Some fellows have typed little schedules for themselves with tick marks indicating the hours and then they clip them off every hour or every two hours. Shortly before the end we are supposed to go to the firing range once more. We all decided to fire into the air instead of at the target. Nobody wants to do anything anymore. My former company is drunk all the time and there is one "incident" after the other. People are being arrested and restricted to barracks left and right. But I keep doing my duty as always. I say to myself: for 17 months, I went along and acted like a monkey; today, at the last moment, it wouldn't do me any good to act tough. I want to make sure I get my nice discharge papers.

19 April--10 days to go:

Dear Mother,

For days now we have been going through a big inspection in the regiment. The corps commander and his generals and all the brass keep us going. Yesterday they checked us out on the 1,000-meter run and in weight lifting. My muscles are sore because us typewriter jockeys had to participate and strain real hard. Tomorrow we go on the obstacle course. I wouldn't have dreamed that I would have to run like during the first months now that I am just a few hours away from getting out of the army.

25 April--just 4 days to go!

Dear Mother,

The cherry blossoms are out in the barracks compound. We can hardly wait for the day we get discharged. It is torture to get through each day. I can't grasp that I will be able to leave this damned barracks in just 4 days. We have spent so many months here quite senselessly. All of us of course will have to get readjusted to civilian life. But if you really think about it: your days in the army have their good sides too. I got rid of my illusions.

5058

CSO:2300

EAST GERMANY

DATA SUPPLIED ON WOMEN WORKERS

Increased Skills of Production Workers

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German 4 Mar 77 pp 4-5

[Article by Jutta Bleibaum, State Secretariat for Vocational Training:
"Women Production Workers Strive for High Level of Qualifications"]

[Text] The increased involvement of women and girls in the social production process is closely linked with the improvement in their level of qualification. In recent years a great deal of attention has been devoted to their training as skilled production workers. By 1976 some 45 percent of all women production workers had concluded training in the skills needed for their present jobs. On the basis of the stage of development achieved and the tasks involved in the further organization of the developed socialist society we must continue in future also to train women to become skilled production workers.

The comprehensive sociopolitical measures include provisions by which working mothers and women shift workers get special help with their training. These favorable conditions are extensively used by female workers. Leave of absence for theoretical training and the improvement of working and living conditions for working women generally resulted in greater willingness to learn. That is why the 1971 share of 26.2 percent of skilled women production workers has now risen to nearly 45 percent. Women workers have long been engaged in production; by acquiring the skilled workers diploma they demonstrate that they are fully conscious of their social status. Their political and professional activism has increased.

Improvements in the level of qualification and the appropriate employment in industry must go hand in hand if every educational measure is to become just as plan effective as any other element of the reproduction process. At the central exchange of experiences on adult education, held late last year, the call went out to link the training of skilled women workers with the task of providing more qualitatively valuable jobs for skilled women workers. Their work should be easier, more meaningful and more interesting.

In many enterprises the further planned training of women as skilled production workers is also the starting point for the provision of jobs with great demands on qualifications by the use of scientific labor organization. This measure is assisted by the intention in the period 1976-1980 to eliminate job difficulties for 200,000 working people and provide more favorable conditions for 1 million working people with the aid of scientific labor organization. At the time of translating into practice the intensification programs of factories and instituting the use of scientific labor organization it will therefore be important to provide jobs which allow women fully to develop their skills.

In the Wolfen Film Factory VEB women account for about 60 percent of the skilled workers. These skilled women workers raised the question whether highly qualified male workers were in fact still needed to supervise operations and the means of production. The newly trained women production workers quite properly considered that they themselves had all the necessary skills to set their own machines and, because they had the knowledge required, could manage the necessary manipulations and at the same time carry out quality control. The supervisory personnel was consequently reduced, and it became possible to more rationally use the available labor capacity.

With the aid of socialist labor organization many enterprises are now producing job analyses. These provide one of the prerequisites for lifting jobs to the skilled worker level by appropriate working methods and job organization. In 1975 1,015 jobs in the Thalheim Esda Hosiery Combine VEB were reconstructed or transformed by the use of scientific labor organization.

Job organizational measures have been initiated in order also to utilize the results of skilled worker training in those factories in which women operators work on assembly lines. In one of the plants of the Berlin "Progress" Men's Clothing VEB this job reconstruction aims to help lower the production time for jacket linings by 12 percent in the first half of 1977. The women operators in that plant say that pleasure in work is rising in conjunction with the greater qualitative challenges on the job--for which they prepared themselves by the appropriate training--; they carry increased responsibility for the product and are more involved with quality appraisal.

To achieve success in the field of training for skilled women production workers it is imperative for all factories to deal consciously and according to plan with the respective projects, consult with the working women and consider this enterprise a definite management task.

Exemplary Performance in Chemical Industry

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German 4 Mar 77 pp 5-6

[Text] The chemical industry and its 320,000 working people turn out more than 16 percent of the industrial commodity production of our republic. The nearly 130,000 women and girl employees hold a substantial share in this

achievement. More than half of them are skilled workers. More and more women are qualifying for the exercise of management functions by embarking on the most varied types of further education. Some examples will illustrate this turn of events.

About 12,000 of the 30,000 chemical workers in the Schwedt Petrochemical Combine VEB are women. More than 4,000 of them operate directly in material production, most of them in round-the-clock shift work. In the main department chemicals of the Boehlen Otto Grotewohl VEB women actually hold 56 percent of all jobs. In the course of her shift every woman in this plant looks after an average capital equipment value of M8 million.

In 1976 nearly 4,000 women workers in the combine plants of the Petrochemical Combine VEB were involved in the innovator movement. The innovator activities of the women and girls working in the parent plant alone earned a profit of nearly M4 million. That is M2,656 per "innovator woman" and M1,131 per woman worker.

A great deal of purposeful work is being done in order to raise the incidence of women middle and senior management posts as well as technical jobs. The parent plant employs 22 of 144 female college graduates and 58 of 371 technical school cadres in management positions. A special catalog of women's jobs assists these efforts. It incorporates 5,275 jobs which may be held by women. Scientific labor organization is oriented to open up still more jobs to women by removing special difficulties.

In 1976 and 1977 most women in the combine will (or did) begin to enjoy the fruits of the sociopolitical measures enacted after the ninth party congress. From 1 May 1977 the 40-hour week is coming into effect, for example, in the parent enterprise for 605 full-time working mothers with two or more children and for 750 shift workers. Since July 1976 102 mothers have been granted longer maternity leave, and 47 mothers of two or more children have availed themselves of this opportunity to take paid leave for 6 months. From 1 January 1977 750 women operatives on shift work have been getting longer vacations.

Special welfare measures deal with mothers of many children and their families. In 1977, for example, the parent plant is offering this group of people 500 specially provided vacation places. To families with more than four children the Boehlen Otto Grotewohl combine plant makes available free children's camp vacations in enterprise facilities. Since 1975 the parent plant of the combine has been able to meet all requests for nursery school or creche places. The Zeitz Hydration Plant VEB meets the demand for nursery school places to 100 percent and that for creche places to 95.5 percent. Current efforts are directed increasingly to assure housing close to the plant for such children, so that the mothers should not have to travel long distances.

The parent plant of the Buna Chemical Works VEB employs 8,613 women; 377 are advanced school graduates, 519 technical school graduates, and 78 women have acquired the forewoman certificate. More than 200 women hold management posts. Currently 162 women are studying at technical or advanced schools, either attending classes or taking correspondence courses; another 384 are being trained at the plant academy to become either skilled workers or fore-women, and others yet take further education courses for various engineering skills. At this time 954 female apprentices are receiving training in various occupations.

In 1976 3,271 women at Buna were involved in the innovator movement. That accounts for 37.6 percent of all women employees at these works. They hold a substantial share in the overall profit achieved for the combine, which amounts to M66.4 million. The competition for the title "collective of socialist work" involves 89 women's collectives with 1,357 members among the total of 581 collectives and 10,092 members.

In Buna also 3,312 of the total 7,829 labor union posts are held by women. They include 487 who were elected spokewomen. Twenty-six women colleagues hold the position of departmental labor union executive board chairperson, and comrades Jelissa Koenig and Regina Busch are plant labor union executive board chairpersons. Women also furnish 191 of the 545 conflict commission members.

The sociopolitical measures are having their effect in Buna as well. From 1 May 1977 the 40-hour week without loss of wages will be introduced for 860 full-time working mothers with two dependent children under 16. Children's welfare receives particular attention. More than 2,900 children of Buna employees are looked after in combine owned and municipal nursery schools or creches, or in day schools in residential neighborhoods. Something like the same number of children spend 3 carefree vacation weeks in camps on the Baltic, in the Harz Mountains and on Dueben Heath, or in central Pioneer camps. Another 120 children spend vacations in the CSSR every year, in camps run by partner plants.

The Wolfen Film Factory VEB employs some 8,400 women and girls among the total of 15,000 workers. These women helped toward the 1976 achievement of the "Q" quality mark for three new products and the raise by 13.2 percent of the production of color film.

In the past 2 years the women and girls working in the film factory have done magnificently well in training. By now 4,783 of the plant's female workers have completed skilled worker training (compared to 2,792 in 1974). In the same period the proportion of women college graduates increased from 151-227 and for technical school graduates from 275-340 women. In 1976 1,392 women and girls attended qualification courses.

At the same time a major rise was recorded in the involvement of women in the innovator movement. In 1969, for example, only 13.9 percent of women participated in the innovator movement. By now their involvement has increased

to nearly 25 percent. Women production workers especially are very active in the innovator movement, accounting for 27.2 percent, and even more the female employees of the technological directorate at 32.8 percent.

The film factory devotes a great deal of attention to the improvement of working and living conditions. Difficult working conditions, for example, were eliminated from 1,350 jobs.

Half of all employees in the Schwarza Wilhelm Pieck Synthetic Fiber VEB are women. The proportion of skilled women workers amounts to some 48 percent. In 1976 a total of 392 workers (including 271 women) qualified as skilled workers by taking adult education courses; in 1977 this figure is to rise to 568 workers (including 413 women). The synthetic fiber combine VEB ran special classes to train women engineers, thereby increasing the proportion of women engineering graduates. In the Premnitz, Guben and Schwarza plants six classes successfully concluded their training last year. In 1976 77 percent of the women employees in the parent plant at Schwarza could boast completed vocational training.

Women are prominent in Schwarza's innovator movement. Some 50.5 percent of the women workers in the Schwarza parent plant are actively involved in the innovator movement. Two women head an innovator brigade and another 17 are employed as heads of innovator collectives. Every quarter Schwarza awards a decoration to the best female innovator.

In the socialist competition also the women are setting an excellent example. A personal quality program has been adopted by 1,320 female workers in the Schwarza parent plant, and another 300 are operating in accordance with "notices on the plan."

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METHODS, SOURCES, VALUE OF AMERICAN STUDIES SURVEYED

Budapest TARSADALOMTUDOMANYI KOZLEMENYEK in Hungarian No 3, 1976 pp 70-85

[Article by Emil Gardos: "Several Problems of Our American Studies"]

[Text] The development of the international situation requires that our American studies keep pace with events. American imperialism, struggling with serious contradictions, is maneuvering and using various tactics to win time, to confuse and loosen the socialist camp, to defend and develop its neocolonialist positions and to disarm and divide its competitors and shift to them, in part, the burdens of the deepening crisis. In the midst of a political and moral crisis which has been long ripening--and which was exploded by the Watergate scandal--contradictions are sharpening between the giant monopolies and the majority of the people, contradictions which can be glossed over or postponed by manipulation but which carry in themselves the necessity of qualitative changes.

The Importance and Character of American Studies

Understanding the imperialism of our age is a precondition for knowledge about the American social reality and its laws of movement. Just as Great Britain was the model for classic capitalism going into imperialism before the turn of the century so the United States plays the leading role in the age of state monopoly capitalism. Pushing its competitors behind--practically without hindrances such as feudalism, war destruction, a strong revolutionary labor movement, lack of resources, etc.--it has become in a few decades the supreme imperialist power crucially influencing world development. With the aid of immigration and the technological revolution the monopolies developed the tools of production to a maximum degree, increased the concentration and centralization of capital and expropriated the fruits of the wars among the other powers.

Thus there developed in the 1930's, for the first time in the capitalist world, a state monopoly capitalism which accelerated industrial-technological development but at the same time prevented the use of the scientific and technological revolution in the interest of society; it stepped up the power struggle among the giant monopolies and sharpened the class contradictions;

and it increased polarization and the impoverishment of the workers and their alienation from the capitalist social relationships. All this justifies the statement of Lenin that monopoly capitalism is the "direct entrance hall to socialism."

The measures of American state monopoly capitalism in connection with the foreign exchange and energy crisis and the manipulations of the multi-national corporations led mostly by Americans--to point only to the most characteristic features--are deepening the long-ripening contradictions and disruptive tendencies within the imperialist camp and provoking a struggle by the developing countries against neocolonialism. As a result of the increase in inflation, exploitation and unemployment, the class struggle is developing in various forms and certain elements of an anti-monopolist unity fighting for structural social change have come into being. So American studies are an important key to understanding the international situation, to understanding the struggle between the forces of capitalism and socialism--a struggle for fundamental strategic goals--and for developing and carrying out the tactics of this struggle.

We can also gain many lessons which can be used in socialist construction from a study of American reality, lessons concerning the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, concerning a developed and effective production organization, concerning methods of instruction and mass information, etc. Our American studies have an important place in scientific work, education and propaganda. Among other things, such information will facilitate a friendly dialog with visitors from capitalist countries, with experts, with Hungarians living in the West and thus with all mankind seeking peace and well-being.

A study of and broad acquaintance with American reality is a powerful weapon in the ideological struggle which takes place during detente and plays an ever more important role. It must show the bankruptcy of the consumer society, the antagonistic contradictions between about 500 giant monopolies and the American people desiring peace and must compare the global crisis of capitalism with the economic, social and cultural successes and prospects of the socialism which is being built.

The cultivation of Americanistics needs special information and methods, primarily of a political character, because it is with these that one can best discover and interpret American reality.

This is a complex task in the sense that knowledge of America can develop only as a synthesis of the achievements of various social sciences, knowledge which is at once scientific and practical, theoretical and empirical and useful in foreign policy, education, propaganda and mass information alike. It should not only describe and report on the swiftly changing and even quickly obsolete phenomena but should also aid an understanding of their essence and the drawing of suitable conclusions.

Its tools cannot be merely conventional. Research work based on professional books and studies must be supplemented with other tools of American studies such as the press, radio, conversations with visitors to the United States and with Americans visiting our homeland.

The selection of themes pertaining to the United States cannot be voluntaristic and cannot extend to every question. Special attention must be given to an analysis of the causes, manifestation forms and trends of American social tensions, an examination of the self-awareness and political independence of the American worker class, the situation and role of the colored minorities, the crisis of the trade unions, the question of the alliance policy and of economic struggle and, last but not least, the situation, program and developmental trends of the progressive leftist forces, especially the Communist Party. Great tasks stand before domestic American studies, for knowledge about America has developed here in a peculiar manner. One can still feel the aftershocks of the emigration wave of the turn of the century. The several waves of emigration after World War II are of special significance for they affected many hundreds of thousands of individuals and their relatives and friends who remained here. The "new Americans," relatively young and mostly workers, have been integrated and have become citizens but in general they have not turned against their native land and in the midst of the deepening crisis they surely recall what they "learned in the seminars." Many of them visit home and others invite their relatives to visit them.

Preparing a Balance

The first step in an examination of the state of domestic American studies is to establish what is to be done and to liquidate deficiencies.

In the recent past there has been a favorable development in the evaluation of American reality in public thinking but in places there is still a burden of distortion and there are many blank spots. The manipulative American myth of the "affluent society" which aided loosening is abating. The foreign and domestic, economic and ideological aspects and consequences of the crisis of American imperialism are becoming clearer.

Events in Indochina, South America, etc.; inflation, unemployment, insecurity and the dictatorial aspirations hiding in the guise of democratism have been seen and their lessons are having an effect. This is an indisputable fact even if in some narrower, primarily petit-bourgeois circles there is still a tendency to accept and spread the idea of the superiority of the American lifestyle--which is sometimes coupled with antisocialism and anti-Sovietism.

This change in the picture of America is closely interdependent with the achievements of our socialist construction and with the improving work of our mass communications, book publishing and propaganda.

Most important for our public thinking are the economic factors and their consequences affecting the American people and the standard of living. The sharp debate and polarization taking place in American public life should not be contrasted to the apparently transitional conditions, the social and political passivity, the class treason of the trade union bureaucracy and the ideological confusion. Both groups of phenomena are the result of accumulating contradictions which are leading to outbreaks of tensions against state monopoly capitalism and its servants, which are reflected in its own mediums. A superficial observer will draw incorrect conclusions from the essence and falling apart of the New Left, which was so magnified and supported by manipulation in the 1960's, and from the relatively slow (but very significant, considering the circumstances) advance of the Communist Party, the only consistent leftist force, which is overcoming its isolation and achieving results with its alliance policy which even bourgeois observers are now recognizing. Frequently underestimated are the processes, including a mass psychological crisis, taking place in the ranks of the oppressed strata, the colored minority, those living in chronic poverty, young workers and women and the positive phenomena of the development of worker class awareness.

Special attention should be called to developments connected with the Watergate scandal, to the crisis of the American government system based on two parties, to the bankruptcy of political forms of rule and their occasionally terroristic character and to the international detente aspirations which have developed as a result of forced circumstances.

In our mass information and propaganda work we have to find the correct ratio between so-called "great" foreign and domestic policy themes and reporting on the living conditions of little people and the situation of workers and employees which is based on a class view and leads to a disclosure of concrete and understandable lawful relationships.

Posing the problem in this way leads to the question of scientific research and education concerning America. We might note by way of introduction that scientific work in this area lags far behind the demands of public interest and the demands of knowledge spreading; much must yet be done for the development of coordinated, planned Americanistic research of a political character in our homeland.

It will be necessary to go back about 7 years (to the period of the 1969 Moscow Conference of Communist and Workers Parties and of the 19th Congress of the CPUSA which adopted a new party program representing a turning point) in order to determine the significance and achievements of the various branches of science for our Americanistics work. At this time great changes took place in the international power relationships. Short-lived theories of even the apologetic or critical bourgeois social sciences reflect in various ways the significant changes which took place in American society and this is shown in an indirect way even by the ideological chaos which developed in this area. So it is necessary to analyze the

extent to which this process, affecting the development of the entire world, can be felt in domestic scientific work.

Another task interdependent with this is to understand the development of the progressive forces—a study of the work of the American Communist Party, acquiring information about it which is realistic and free of distortion and studying and evaluating the deficiencies of the so-called New Left and the "Marxizing" theories. In these years the CPUSA achieved significant results in initiating mass movements and in ideological, propaganda and organizing work among the worker class and its most important strata. We must also analyze how we should interpret and use the theory of the "exception" which derives from the history of America and how we can make clear the difference between the Marxists, the revisionists, the so-called Marxizers, etc.

International Cooperation

Americanistics is becoming an ever more important area at the international level also. Starting from the concrete situation of their own countries or class views Marxists, Marxizers and non-Marxists are studying the quickly changing American reality. Naturally, the socialist countries are playing an outstanding role, for they have special tasks as a result of the simultaneity of the detente process and the sharpening ideological loosening activity. Significant international forums are available to debate the problems—regional meetings, conferences held under the auspices of THE WORLD MARXIST REVIEW and the discussion of central themes in the journals.

In addition to increasing multilateral cooperation, attention must be turned to the Americanistics work being done in individual countries.

Americanistics work in the Soviet Union takes place primarily in the American Research Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Soviet Union, which has a powerful apparatus, embraces every important branch of the social sciences, and carries out outstanding publication activity. Its extensive monthly journal (USA) contains timely material about broad areas of American politics, public life, economics and culture which can be used in research, education, propaganda and mass information.

The work being done in other countries of the socialist camp should be attended to also. Institutionalized American studies take place everywhere. American studies won a place in political research and in higher education in the Polish People's Republic years ago. Research in this area is led by the "Institute Studying Problems of Contemporary Capitalism." In the German Democratic Republic they support themselves effectively on cooperation with the American comrades in the struggle against racism and other fascist remnants, including the holding of university lectures and the publication of textbooks and studies at various levels. Claude Lightfoot, a member of the Political Committee of the CPUSA, spent a long time in the German Democratic Republic where, among other things, he helped in the writing of textbook materials dealing with racism.

The extensive research work of Marxists in capitalist countries, resulting in many publications, is extraordinarily important due to their analysis of reality from another viewpoint and their own experience with the swiftly sharpening inflation and unemployment. Their achievements can be used well in answering the American challenge and in the struggle to create an anti-imperialist popular unity against their own monopolies.

Naturally the American communists and their comrades are the best students and analysts of American reality. In struggle and debate on a broad front the American communists oppose the various bourgeois and petit-bourgeois ideologies, including the neo-fascist extreme right and the revisionists, Maoists and Marxizers.

In connection with this debate we would like to note that in the various branches of science we have a rich Marxist literature pertaining to America, especially in regard to decades of work on the black liberation movement. Significant books and monographs have also appeared in the area of historical sciences and on trade union questions.

We would like to refer here not only to the great value of the books of Marxist publishers (International, New Outlook, and the A.I.M.S.) but also to the importance of the party press, primarily the noteworthy studies of POLITICAL AFFAIRS. In this connection we might note that our scientific workers (and bibliographers) have not sufficiently valued POLITICAL AFFAIRS, which appears monthly in 64 pages. An acquaintance with it is indispensable for understanding the various ideological manifestations of American reality. A regular column is Herbert Aptheker's "Ideas in Our Time." The discussion of various positions in successive issues is important. The individual issues of the journal are concentrated on some selected theme and a position by the editors points up questions debated by various participants. Equally indispensable is the DAILY WORLD, which publishes articles dealing with many ideological questions (from politics to culture), and the weekend PEOPLE'S WORLD which appears in the western part of the country, a 12-page magazine containing a popular column by Gus Hall, "Basics," which answers questions sent in by readers. Use of the works (theoretical articles, newspaper articles, leaflets, etc.) of Gus Hall, Henry Winston and the other American Marxists is a precondition for understanding American reality and for a correct interpretation and use of non-Marxist sources.

Let us also call attention to the following: The A.I.M.S., of which Herbert Aptheker is now director (he teaches a social course at Yale University), publishes in 3,400 copies a bimonthly NEWSLETTER or document summary and has activists with about that number of members in various scientific institutions of the country who try to counterbalance the anticommunist undermining work of the gigantic scientific apparatus ruled by the monopolies and to increase interest among those seeking answers to questions which cannot be answered by the bourgeois sciences.

In order to reach a correct evaluation of the contemporary reality of the United States it is necessary to go back to the history of the past century,

to the peculiarities of the American capitalist development due to which the historical path of this country is often called "exceptional."

History

The foundation of our American studies is the application of the historical view to an understanding of the present reality of the United States.

In order to understand the reality and prospects of American imperialism and to understand what is to be done it is necessary to examine its past of 3 and a half centuries, the production tools and relationships of the first settlements (of some 10,000 souls) and the superstructure which developed at that time. In this case also the principle of the historical approach is based on the truth that every social phenomenon bears its past in itself so a fundamental knowledge of the past is a precondition for understanding the reality of the present.

In his "Rough Draft" Marx sums up in a single terse if long sentence his position concerning the entire development of America. According to this, in the United States "bourgeois society did not develop on the foundation of feudalism but began from itself so that this society did not appear as a surviving achievement of a centuries-long movement but rather as the starting point of a new movement where the state, differing from every earlier national formation, was subordinate from the beginning to bourgeois society, to the nature of this society, and could never appear with purposes of its own, where, in the final analysis, bourgeois society itself welded the productive forces of an old world to the natural terrain of a new world to a degree never seen before and developed with an unknown freedom of movement far surpassing all previous work the subduing of natural forces and where, finally, the contradictions of bourgeois society itself appeared only as disappearing motifs."

Our classics have regarded this "exception" as an objective category. In a capitalism based on free competition the social development of the United States had a character differing from that of Europe both qualitatively and quantitatively and was accompanied by strong shifts of pace (e.g., the backwardness of worker class awareness) and by strong disproportions. As a result of all this, among other things, social mobility from one class to another was rather general and easy.

The "natural terrain" drew to itself the "producers of the old world," millions seeking a new life without feudal shackles, who set themselves to building a new world as pioneers. Starting from natural husbandry they strengthened economically at an unparalleled pace and to an unparalleled degree; then, in a struggle against the mother country and against class oppression, they won their independence and created a compromise state federation, as demanded by the conditions of the time, on the basis of a flexible constitution differing from those of Europe.

This was accompanied by a democratic development to understand which one needs to know a few historical factors such as the stand and decisive role of the workers and small farmers in the struggle against the colonialists in the Revolution, and that the coalition "labor parties" of the 1830's insured the democratic development. They continued this role in the struggle against the southern slave system in the Civil War.

Within a short time there developed in the "melting pot" a characteristic national character filled with contradictions which was characterized especially by an individualism reflecting the economic situation and by a provincial spirit and naivete. Fundamental to it were a democratism which did not bow to authority, an exaggerated role for violence, national pride and the acceptance of mobility, success and property as the chief measures of value.

Slavery was a constant brake on and watershed for the democratic bourgeois development. The "second bourgeois revolution" of 1861-1864, in which a crucial role was played by workers and by European revolutionaries (including Marxists) and by freed slaves, bogged down after a brief reconstruction period and the oppression of the colored people continued in new forms. The development of the monopolies, the technological revolution, the increased social mobility and mass immigration made it possible for large capital to liquidate the instinctively democratic popular movements after the turn of the century, to corrupt the trade unions and betray bourgeois democracy, making use of the two-party system, manipulation and unparalleled demagogery and terror. Thus, in imperialism, the United States "caught up" with the monopoly capital powers and its "exceptional" path ended.

Thus in monopoly capitalism the life form and spiritual character of the population, swollen by mass immigration, naturally changed as compared to what it had been in the first 200 years of its history but the characteristics of the "pioneer age" and of the first century of independence did not disappear without a trace. In the social struggles and great crises of our century characteristics reminiscent of the "pioneer age" appear here and there and sometimes (e.g., in the 1930's) on a national scale in the sometimes nationwide but never-ending strike, civil rights, peace, etc., struggles. It can be hypothesized that on the 200th anniversary of independence, in the stormily developing general crisis affecting every sphere of society, those processes will accelerate under the correct guidance of the Communist Party as vanguard, primarily the development of an aware worker class, which characterized the history of Europe at the turn of the century.

Naturally, history will not repeat itself. The accelerating crisis of imperialism, the scientific-technological revolution, stratification and polarization, etc., have created a qualitatively new situation and so the changes to be expected will come at different levels and with different character.

It can be seen from all this that American history does have its unique path. But the laws of social development are generally valid even if

their forms of manifestation, conditions and pace of development depend on the concrete situation and objective factors and on the strategy, tactics and ideological and organizational work based on a Marxist-Leninist analysis.

Prospects

We have thus come to those fundamental problems which characterize the America of our age and lead to hypotheses affecting further trends of development.

We can accept as a starting point the undeniable fact recognized by every stratum and spokesman of American public life that what is involved now are not transitional troubles but rather crucial questions. Politicians, ideologists, publicists and commentators, and the "man in the street" ever more aware of his condition, unanimously state that fundamental problems are involved and that a solution of them cannot be postponed. This is also shown by public opinion research and by the traumatic confusion, ranging from apathy to spontaneous outbreaks, which characterizes the so-called indoctrinated, naive and provincial average American who until now dealt only with his most personal affairs.

What are the possible alternatives for American development?

The first (and apparently most natural) is to maintain the status quo based on state monopoly capitalism and the two-party system. In this connection there is a serious struggle taking place among the monopolies, the majority of which supported Nixon in 1972 and supported a further spread of executive power within the frameworks of constitutionality. The changed power relationships, inflation and the standstill in economic development have caused a break which was exploded by the Watergate scandal. The political forces which have been forced into the background, primarily those in the federal legislature, supported by a significant number of the monopolies, are ready for a certain compromise, naturally within the framework of the two-party system. The munitions industry, forces cooperating with the Pentagon, the extremists, the Zionist lobby, the AFL-CIO general staff, etc., are trying to torpedo the policy of detente.

Connected with all this is a tendency which can be noted throughout the capitalist world aimed at dictatorial, neofascist solutions, which was spoken of in detail at the conference of THE WORLD MARXIST REVIEW held in Essen in February 1973.

According to the American Marxists: "Permanent tendencies appearing in state monopoly capitalism, neofascist changes taking place in the political superstructure, were unmasked in the dramas of the Watergate scandal...." According to Gus Hall, "A police state structure, an unseen force opposed to Congress and the government, has developed.... This is not the work of chance. Oppression is accompanied by the development of capitalism in the direction of a police-state fascist development." The American Marxists

do not ignore the ultra-right-wing organizations supported by various monopolists (the John Birch Society, the Minutemen, the National Socialist White People's Party and the secret terrorist groups) but in general they regard them as having provocation purposes and a "reserve" character.

The prospect of an antimonopolist popular unity can be opposed to the alternative of the capitalist status quo. The reality of this is supported by the developmental level of the United States, by the lessons of its history and by those often spontaneous local, regional or national movements which have developed in various strata and organizations of society around economic or civil rights demands, certain social measures, inflation, the peace movement, etc., and which are also reflected in political life.

At the end of the 1950's the CPUSA posted as a fundamental goal, later incorporated in its program, the initiation or support of movements starting from below and based on American reality, raising them to the political level. The prospect is to break the monopoly of the two-party system, elect independent representatives and other officials, including Communists, and form a third party of a worker character.

In recent years there have been local (and increasingly national) conferences, rallies and demonstrations against political and racial oppression, unemployment and inflation in the area of demands by trade union members, welfare recipients, pensioners, discharged soldiers, etc. The struggle of those who believe in the two alternatives, filled with the ideological elements outlined above, is continuing in order to win the majority of the American people. Without trying for completeness we might list the various currents of thought or the strata representing them which the progressive forces must understand, win over and unite by means of various actions.

We might begin with the oldest trend, the populism which still lives in some strata, especially those with farmer and petit-bourgeois members. The People's Party was formed in the 1880's in a struggle against the two-party system which supported the trusts developing in the railroads and in other areas of economic life. It had utopian and nostalgic goals and slogans such as issuing paper money, using silver as the monetary base, passing laws against the trusts, a uniform tax system, etc. The Populists nominated several presidential candidates and elected governors and legislators in several states, with the support of the workers. After the turn of the century they were incorporated organizationally into the Democratic Party, although in the elections of 1924 populism was the ideological foundation of a third party led by La Follette. Thanks to demagogic arousing feelings against the rich, the ideals of a new populism are a serious factor in the neo-fascist agitation bearing the name of George A. Wallace.

Among those longing for the democratic past we might list the Jeffersonian Democrats who, like Chief Justice Douglas, openly espouse the right of

revolt against the oppressive system. Others regard the Constitution from the viewpoint of economic egalitarianism and hope for a return to democratic virtues.

After noting these extraordinarily significant antimonopolist ideological manifestations we should take a look at, or merely list, the other, much better known trends--the liberals, the so-called New Left, the ideological trends characteristic of so many intellectuals, petit bourgeoisie and students. An ever more significant role awaits the bearers of these ideas in creating an antimonopoly alliance. There are a good number of federal, state and local officials (and not only among the colored peoples) who, even though they were elected within the two-party system, are in a certain sense independent and can be regarded as allies to be won in the anti-monopoly struggle.

The colored minority of 40 million people represents a powerful and well-recognized force within which, despite nationalist, anarchist and even (black) capitalist tendencies, the crucial factor is the struggle for civil rights and equality. The dividing tactic which opposed the blacks to the minorities of Latin American origin which are even more exploited has failed.

It is characteristic of the changing situation that more than 3,000 black officials have been elected (even in southern states) in many cases with the votes of the whites who are in the majority.

Among the youth it is primarily the young workers who are making their voices heard now (in economic struggles and in ideological stands, too). "The working youth are now adopting those behaviors and values which characterized the student movements of the 1960's."

The corrupt trade union bureaucracy is unable to hold back the fermentation within the membership, the opposition and strike movements, but neither should one underestimate the role of some reformist local and national leaders and even entire trade unions in the turnings which are ripening.

We should add to the list the role of the religious masses and their churches in the struggle for progress and popular unity. Another significant factor is the strength of those descended from the socialist countries of today, ethnic groups numbering in all tens of millions, the great majority of whom regard the lands of their fathers with interest and sympathy. (The manipulated myth of the "melting pot" has in general greatly declined and there is increasing talk of the mosaic-like unity of various groups.)

The program of the Communist Party deals in detail with the problem of popular unity, with the struggle for immediate and radical reforms. The participation and initiative of the party is becoming ever clearer in

progressive movements of the most varied character. Its fundamental tactic is to create a friendly, constructive dialog with the masses seeking a way out, including those influenced by anticomunism. (Exceptions to this are those Maoists, Trotskyites and anarchists, the basis of whose existence is the struggle against the Communist Party and who often cooperate with ultra-right-wing provocateurs.)

The final result of the struggle between the two antagonistic tendencies will be decided by the workers who make up the great majority of the American people, the workers who are already disillusioned and filled with doubts and who are gradually recognizing their class situation as a result of their pragmatic views. A great number of factors will determine the development of popular unity but exceptional factors deriving from historical causes cannot be obstacles to the realization of objective laws.

The Oppressed Minorities

It is necessary for us to deal with the problems of the colored minorities (blacks, those of Latin American origin, Indians, Asians, etc.) who, with the aid of the Marxists are waging a sharpening struggle, which has led to important partial results, for economic and civil rights and cultural equality. They play a role exceeding their ratio in the population--about 20 percent--in the class struggle and can be regarded as the weakest link in American imperialism.

Due to lack of space we will touch only on the problematics of the most important and least understood group, the more than 25 million blacks. The history of the blacks goes back 5 centuries. The first period is the introduction of the slaves beginning in the early 16th century. The sale and inhuman exploitation of the slaves was a significant source of economic accumulation. In the history of North America slavery was the watershed between the southern plantations and the increasingly bourgeois North. The policy of compromise followed from the founding of the state to the end of the Jackson era was followed first by the "unavoidable conflict," the Civil War, and then by the lynch law of the developing monopolies and the plantations subordinate to them using different forms of slavery.

At the beginning of the 20th century Dr W. E. B. Dubois (1868-1963) became the leader of the struggle against exploitation and ideological confusion. In 1906 he organized the NAACP to struggle for equal rights. He was the author of 47 books and an active leader of leftist movements who, in 1961 in the very middle of the anticomunist terror, joined the Communist Party and then worked in Ghana until the last hours of his life on the "African Encyclopedia." (H. Aptheker, the executor of his scientific estate, has already issued the first of the planned three volumes.)

Since the beginning of our century (in a movement bearing the names of Carter G. Woodson and C. H. Wesley) many black and, naturally, white historians have dealt with the Afro-American theme.

The struggle for equality has taken a sharp turn in the past few decades. In 1940, 77 percent of the blacks lived in the South. Since then, as a result of the capitalization of agriculture, having lost their livelihood and possibility of employment, the majority have moved to the large northern and southern cities. (Today, 28 percent of the population of cities with over 2 million inhabitants are black and the ratio in Detroit and its suburbs is 45 percent.) Of the active black population, 94 percent are workers; one-third of them work in basic industries (300,000 in the auto industry and 250,000 in the steel industry); and the ratio of blacks among public employees is 15 percent.

The ghetto lifestyle of the big cities and their becoming exploited workers radically changed the self-awareness of the black community. Beginning in 1955, the civil rights movement bearing the name of Martin Luther King characterized this turning (which involved everything from passive resistance to ghetto revolts). They have won various concessions and greater study and work opportunities. The social differentiation which thus developed in their ranks has given new soil for petit-bourgeois and nationalist illusions, from pan-Africanism to "black capitalism." Even in the midst of short-lived movements (Black Power, the Black Panther Party, etc.) the communists successfully realized their policy based on the leading role of the worker class and black-white unity. In recognition of this, Martin Luther King, in February 1968--in his last outstanding public appearance before his murder--at a centenary celebration honoring Du Bois, organized by Freedomways, characterized as understandable and just the Communist Party membership of Du Bois, "all his life a radical."

The monopolies, frightened by the progress of the blacks, while granting certain concessions, are increasing their ideological counterattack also. While some literary and film works appearing in the first half of the century ("The Birth of a Nation," "Gone With the Wind," etc.) portrayed the Negro as of a lower order, bestial and hungry for white women, there are now many unscientific works which falsify history as an aftershock of the ghetto revolts, from Gunnar Myrdal's "An American Dilemma" to William Styron's novel-like book "Confessions of Nat Turner." These have a different tone but they serve the same purpose. Styron received the Pulitzer Prize and his slandering book full of lies became a best-seller but it also received a fitting answer from the progressive forces.

The black worker class, which includes ever more high school and college graduates, is playing an increasing role. The unreality of black capitalism has not become even an ideological factor. More important, however, is the reflection of African development among petit-bourgeois utopian ideologists who not only draw a parallel between but even equate the African struggle against colonialism and the American blacks looking toward Africa which, according to them, is handled like a colony.

In the triple oppression--class, national and racial oppression--the emphasis is shifting increasingly to the class character of oppression. (In

this is expressed the high level of organization and militancy of Negro workers and employees as well as the cumulative effect of decades of effort by the Communist Party.)

The work the communists have done for decades is ever better reflected in the activity of the Mexican, Puerto Rican and Indian minorities also and in their aspirations for unity with other workers.

Source Works and Their Use

Although we touched on the problem of documentation above, it is appropriate for several reasons to deal with this in more detail:

--Due to the quickly changing reality a significant part of the works reaching our homeland are obsolete in content; many authors have since modified their positions on the questions being discussed.

--It follows from the nature of the matter that direct experience, observation, conversations, daily news items, etc., are not sufficient in themselves; in the absence of a dialectical materialist analysis the empirical material can lead to a one-sided and even distorted picture. Various subjective and even manipulative effects are strongly present.

--This is especially characteristic of mass published books and studies dealing with contemporary American reality which can be regarded collectively as philosophical-sociological works, which are contradictory and debate with one another, but which are objectively anticommunist, accept the existing system or aspire to normalize the alienated relationships. The problematics of social stratification play an especially important role in these works.

1. Even at the beginning of the 1960's the American Marxists rejected with determination stratification theories based on consumption structure and started instead from the role played in production. An article by Hyman Lumer titled "Marx and the Historical Role of the Worker Class," which appeared in the January 1968 issue of POLITICAL AFFAIRS, actually put an end in a scientific sense to the stratification debate. But the party is continuing its stratification investigations by "setting right side up" the bourgeois classification. In the spring of 1973 the 13 lectures at a 3-day conference on "worker class and class struggle" gave a many-sided picture of stratification (physical, intellectual, youth, women, colored, organized, etc.) and debated its effect on lifestyle. From the theoretical viewpoint Gus Hall gave an important lecture on the process of developing class self-awareness.

The stratification debate was continued in a book by Bettina Aptheke in which the author expressed the opinion that as a result of the scientific-technological revolution the universities had become an organic part of production and thus the intelligentsia as a whole had become workers.

C. J. Munford criticized the other extreme, the irresponsible spreading of the concept of the lumpenproletariat, when he pointed out that some often include in this pejorative category the inhabitants of the ghettos, the workers who cannot live on their wages and the "hopeless" unemployed who cannot find work. So the Marxists are dealing with sociology and are doing independent research which is linked to timely problems and not to the polemics surrounding bourgeois research.

2. We might better cast light on the problem of source works from the perspective of historical science less bound to current problems.

Books, monographs and studies report on the history of America and include chronologies, biographies, correspondence and the writings of foreign observers. The plethora of source works causes confusion. For 2 decades American historiography has been a maze of contradictory works, debating with one another but saying nothing new, among which there are many one-sided source works which praise, apologize or vulgarize and are useless from the viewpoint of research. The opposite pole to the above are the works of the so-called economic determinist school (Beard, Channing, Hacker, etc.) which were followed by the early Marxists and Marxizers. This school simplified the development of the nation, the Revolution and the Constitution into a direct clash of the opposite interests of the rich and the poor and took a negative position in regard to bourgeois democracy and the progressive traditions as a trap and an opiate of the masses.

The situation is further complicated by that acute crisis, leading to confrontations, which characterizes American historical science, which is in a dead end. A profound re-evaluation is taking place. Young historians not bowing down to authority, or unruly students, are seeking an answer regarding the extent to which the official position about the past can be accepted, or is valid, in what it has erred, and to what extent the founding fathers and their successors are responsible for the failure of Jeffersonian democracy and the total crisis which has developed in the period of state capitalism.

Taking all this into consideration it is naturally indispensable to study the works of the outstanding bourgeois historians (Commager, Parrington, Hacker, Beard, Commons, Schlesinger, Morison, etc., etc.). But at the same time one should regard the Marxists as the starting point--the historical works of Foster and Aptheker, the work of P. Foner, which has thus far appeared in four volumes, concerning the history of the American worker class (International) and a whole series of monographs from the pens of Marxist ideologists and historians.

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CHURCH'S CHANGING ROLE EXAMINED

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[Article by Miklos Tomka "The Changing Social Role of Churches"]

[Text]

Summary

During the past 3 quarters of a century the role and function of the Church, and especially that of the Catholic Church, underwent a characteristic transformation.

Roughly until the end of World War II, the Church maintained its twofold existence as State Church and as people's Church, and as such, it was an overall social institution legitimizing law and order, and culture. Religion as represented by the Church (the so-called "cultural religion") was mainly functioning as patterns of cultivated traditions rather than a commonly shared set of personal convictions.

With the people's power having formed itself, the overall social function of the Church ceased. Ideological conflicts rendered the Church oppositional. Those groups of people who came to have it worse after the transformation, and all those whose personal interests were severed by the overall changes sought the Church to spell out their opposition. In the post-war years the Church became the institution for certain partisan interests, thus coming to be a joint religious and socio-political institution again.

The smoothing out of the social conflicts and the decrease of the social weight of the peasant and upper middle-classes, which earlier formed the basis of the Church, have since the middle of the 1950's brought about the weakening of the social function of the Church. In the very recent historical period, the emphasis of group interests hampered the perception of social reality in its entirety. This seclusion still manifests itself. Now the question is whether the institution of the Church can transgress this predicament, or along with its function, its own significance is to decrease.

Introduction

The radical change in the system of social institutions is illustrated by few phenomena as well as it is by a change in the importance and role of the churches. The continuity of the churches in the past 25-30 years can be understood only in light of the fundamental change, their identification with themselves, and their alienation from themselves. The lag and transformation together give rise to those tensions which — as a result of other motives and perhaps in other forms — characterize churches most places in the world. Thus the specific practices of churches within a country can have lessons far beyond its borders. Since together with recent history it offers a striking model of a social institutional system and the formation of consciousness, the subject has not only a religious importance, but an importance for consciousness, institution and political sociology as well.

We believe that the transformation of the church's role cannot be satisfactorily explained either by the political and world history constellation of the moment or by the individuality of certain leading personalities and politicians. Of course, we would not for a moment deny their importance. We would only like to shed light on the background of well-known facts and political (church history) processes. In our analysis, we shall not deal with the extent to which the sought after — economic social — conditions, the determining mechanisms, signified the necessary condition and to what extent the adequate condition. However, we can state beforehand that in our view the development of relations between the state and the churches can be explained to a very great extent by the character of the churches, by their nature, and by internal ecclesiastical factors.

A comparative analysis of the churches in Hungary and other socialist countries, and their situation, would mean a different approach to our subject. We shall not try this now. And yet from the "background" we are looking for here we can apparently arrive at the conclusion that the role of churches has developed differently in Hungary than elsewhere.

Our central question is how have the churches fulfilled their original function, that is, the representation of religion, and to what extent have they undertaken — consciously or unconsciously — their social role. Latent in this question is the thesis that religiosity can gain an institutional form not only in the church (but in sects or looser religious communities) and in fact can exist for a time even without an institution. Because of this kind of connection between religiosity and the church, it is not possible to arrive at deductions about the existence of religiosity, its non-existence, development and nature via the existence, non-existence and nature of the church. In particular, not one of the now known models of the church can be regarded as the only or the most developed type. In wake of social change, the path of development by the churches is also open.

The churches and church models could be analyzed from many points of view. There are, indeed, great differences between Camillo Tores or Lorinc

Meszaros and their opponents, between Holland and Italy, or between the Swiss faith and Catholicism. We are keeping within one culture. Despite its importance, we cannot devote attention to the denominational characteristics — although on occasion we shall refer to differences. Nor shall we deal with the question whether religiosity is changing. We shall only seek an answer to the question of what the Church functions were in a historical era comprising relatively short but rapid social change, and how these changes occurred.

In the process of social changes, we believe there are three — from the point of our subject — ideal-typical segments that call for emphasis. The three phases are the state church characteristic of the first half of the 20th century, the ecclesiastical period from 1945-1950, and finally the ecclesiastical period of a stabilized socialist society.

State Church, People's Church

The churches — basically we mean the three large denominations of Catholics, Calvinists and Lutherans — confronted Marxist and the social and political forces endeavoring to build a socialist society — from a position of hegemony. Their influence extended not only to religious people in the more narrow sense of the word, the faithful, but to society as a whole. They are state churches by political and organizational category and by mode of integration into the institutional system of the society; in respect to the inner substance of the church institution — operational sphere, function, social bases, etc. — they were people's churches. The state church and people's church character of the churches did not, of course, exhaust their entire reality, but from the viewpoint of the operation of the church organization, social role, and the image created thereof, it was of fundamental importance.

It should be noted that despite the state church and people's church character there were within one and the same church organization certain forces or groups which sought to change the inner structure of the church and its relations to the state. But there is little trace of their activity. For many long decades one kind of concept prevailed concerning the relations of church and state, or the churches' scope of work. On the surface only one type of church was realized — the state and people's church.

The term "state church" indicates that the churches were in close, dialectical relation with the state, built together and grown together. The intertwining is reflected in the constitution and in various areas of justice. (Jurisprudence uses and regards the term state church as acceptable only to this extent.) No less important is the mainly social and conscious part of the state and church alliance which is not sanctioned by law, and therefore we also call this aspect of the church — according to the sociological terminology in general use since E. Troeltsch — state church in its entirety even if legislation does not put it this way.

Naturally, the close joining of state and church always carries also the concrete characteristics of individual instances beyond the general signs of the type. The historical-social determination therein is also evident in

denominational differentiation. The state church character of the Catholic Church was realized more directly for a long historical period — in the period we are discussing now as well — than that of the Calvinist or Lutheran churches. This essentially came not from its greater social, political, economic, and organizational weight but from the fact that it was able to realize its state church nature vis-a-vis the Protestant churches, too. Therefore, the latter can be called state churches only with certain reservations. But since their development was more deeply influenced by their ties with the state — in the first half of the 20th century rather than earlier — than by their oppositional traditions, we still regard them despite the community-democratic bases of their church organization, as a state church rather than representatives of some other type.

The unity of state and church can be realized along with the relative independence of both. The wealth of the church, its country-wide organization and institutions — meeting social needs primarily in the educational and health affairs area (secular) — assured significant independence and at the same time increased the effectiveness of church operation. (Although the independence was only relative, it still stood qualitatively at a higher level than in the Orthodox Church or the emperor-papacy of the middle ages, but at the same time it was essentially lower than in Western Europe, generally speaking, where the separation of state and church advanced steadily after the Enlightenment.) Their economic importance and their institutions made church participation in certain sectors of state organization natural. By means of their social and political privileges (the social rank of church personalities, ecclesiastical participation in Parliament, etc.) the churches, or their office bearers, became direct and active participants and representatives of state power. The state used ecclesiastical privileges to manipulate the churches in the interest of its own goals. On the other hand, the churches were able to increase their actual powers with the help of privileges, and were able to bid above reality the appearance of their importance (secular).

The state saw the institutions of its own ideologies in the churches. This contributed to the unobstructed realization of the churches' influence at the level of theory-ideology. The state organization did much to remove the obstacles (beginning with the farm worker and worker movement to liberal or simply anticlerical efforts) "in the interest of state order and the whole society."

As a result of this, the rendering sacred of the state theory — particularly Catholic — ("apostolic king", "holy crown", etc.) withstood every liberal trend. The state's power supported the churches and they the ruling system.

The term "people's church" means that everyone, that is, the whole society is the member of some church. But this "membership relation" is partly theoretical and partly formal. It is linked to some such condition as most people fulfill but not on the basis of religious motives (such general conditions are baptism; not a general but a frequent condition are first

communion, confirmation, church marriage, burial). In the people's church, the role of religion is assured not by a potential and psychical function but — deriving from its institutionalization — its power to unify community and society.

The people's church is a basic institution of a typical culture. But this institution has become alienated — the original bearers scarcely influence it, because it has outgrown them turned against them. This is the kind of a social organization form in which the emphasis is on people as a mass (or society) and on organization (or integration), and the individual and the church are forced into the background.

Therefore, the people's church does not require personal conviction, commitment and activity but merely acknowledgement of a given culture with its religious symbols and terminology and serving, of course, well-defined interests. To put it briefly, the people's church is not the religious consciousness, religious attitude or a community life of religious semblance, that is, not a religiosity in the psychological sense but merely the carrier of a certain customary order and social consciousness type. In fact, the characteristically religious part belonging to this common consciousness is closely linked to non-religious elements, and therefore we are accustomed to call it a "cultural religion."

The "Representation" of Culture

If we understand religion as content, then the church is the form in which religion is manifested and receives interrelations. Religion can build many different kinds of church models. Among these, the people's church is one of the most characteristic because it is the institution not only of religion and religiosity but also at the same time of culture, in fact of social unity. Its historical genesis goes back to times when religiosity, participation in culture, and social integration had not yet been clearly differentiated. After a more precise definition of the sphere of activity and function of religion and religiosity — and similarly, the other areas — the people's church can cope with its tasks only in a reduced way. The close tie between religion and the (people's) church is beginning to slacken.

The people's church conceives of religious forms as a social norm and it does not set substantive requirements. It does not institutionalize, or very little, the elements of individual conviction and personal religiosity, nor does it hamper them. Thus they may be present, but in no way do they represent at all the conditions for the operation of the people's church. The importance of conscious elements belonging to the sacred sphere (for example, faith) and the behavioral forms (religious practice, devotion) is here secondary. Basically, the people's church is the church not of religious people but of people who accept a consciousness and a culture with a religious terminology as the consciousness and culture of overall society. It is simply a matter of the use of a common language. Religion, church, religious consciousness, etc. are entirely a matter of means, frequently a mechanically used

external custom. This is what makes it possible for everyone to regard it as natural. At the same time, its nature as a means does lower at all its integrative power. The culture, which is chiefly carried by the church(es), is acknowledged by everyone, and is used in everyday life and in contacts with others as a value-free endowment. In fact, some of them perform certain prescriptions (rites) as a formal element of the culture. Everyday behavior does not afford a criterion for us to differentiate people who are religious according to their personal world outlook and life forms from persons who reject a religious world outlook and its behavioral consequences in their personal life but accept it — willingly or unwillingly — as a cultural agent in their human-social relations. For this reason, there is hardly a way to assess degree of religiosity in the people's church.

According to the self-interpretation and early practice of the churches, their basic task is the stabilization of the institutional and organizational forms of religiosity — that is, a characteristic world picture, world rationalization, and the accompanying way of life — and the provisions for handing it on. The later practice of the state-people's church was to remake the function of the church organization. The most essential part of the change in role was that the institutionalization of religiosity — long ago concluded — confronted individual religiosity with a form that is a finished or perfect, so to speak, model that does not require control or correction. It seeks the guarantee of its perfection not in its carriers and historical past but in transcendental sources — which, it is obvious, cannot be empirically controlled. The consciousness carried by the church(es) is not a common consciousness of its faithful — or any part of society because of its people's church character, by necessity — formed from below, but a tradition of the overall society, a consciousness maintained by the power relations and its own justificatory (legitimation) system.

From the viewpoint of our subject, the importance of all this is that if we want to remain faithful to our religious outlook with a common language (although the terminology can naturally be reinterpreted elsewhere or at another time), then on the basis of the overall societal and decisively secular functions we cannot regard the people's church basically or exclusively as a religious institution. Hereafter, it is natural that the relation between the development of religiosity and the fate of the people's church is incidental. Religiosity can develop also in a time of crisis or decline in the people's church. To turn it around, it is not at all certain that forcing religiosity into the background would reduce the role or importance of the people's church.

The basis for the maintenance and flowering of the state church-people's church, the assurance of its political and organizational role, and the essence of its social function is that it carries the ruling culture. Similar to other culture carriers, it represents the rational (that is, closed system of logic) model of the surrounding physical and social world. Thereby, it gives a framework to the judgment of what is the meaning, goal and ethical qualities of any part, or of the whole, in a world boundless in

time and space. Since both the individual and society are positioned in this model, this world concept becomes the standard of human and social existence and behavior. In other words, the culture, or within this the world concept regarding goal-causality and the dimensions of virtue also comprises a definite program of individual historical development. The characteristic of the church type we have looked at here is represented by the fact that while the carrying of culture, in general, gives the role of society in the direction it believes, its occupied position in an official state church is assured by the representation of the ruling culture, thus expressing class interests.

The representation and transmission of culture — that is, the sum of social consciousness, behavioral models and customs — is performed of course, not only by the church; it is done by the entire inner system of society including the collaboration of every individual person. That is to say, culture is a social product, the product of individual efforts and achievements, interpersonal relationships, wider social requirements and ties, etc. But this product is not merely a result but also a value in itself which reacts on its makers and to a large extent determines the consciousness of reality and the self-consciousness (identity) of the social organization and the separate individuals. The essence of its determining role is that a culture once "created" and "accepted" is confirmed thereafter as a (natural) endowment and perhaps as a (compelling) necessity. This culture is the basis of the further development of consciousness and the differentiation of behavior already accepted as given and unalterable. Relying on this and using it as a "common language", human relations can be formed and communication conducted. In the end, it is the knowledge of this that affords orientation and security of movement in society. Customs and behavioral forms regarded as "natural" make it possible for us to assess how others react to some external event or some of our actions. In a word, although culture is a social product, it also determines the motion of man and society.

The exceptional legitimization capability of religion emphasizes the church among the many institutions which mediate culture and which extend from the family to the modern state. By this we mean that the basic function of religion and its main strength is the response to individual and social existential problems, the moral rightness of the response, and the guarantee of its truth and practical usefulness through a characteristic solution. Individual and society alike, although requiring the personal and psychical security and social unity deriving from a common culture, become insecure at the slightest conflict. But in times of social changes, culture does not cease for a moment to be debated and questioned. Particularly, one who has not wrought a certain thing, has not struggled for it, but took it over from others — a preceding generation or simply the environment — may justifiably ask, "Why like this?" Experience does not give a satisfactory reply for some questions. In conflict situations, the reassuring and convincing power of public opinion, of the "others", and of the "common understanding" becomes doubtful and uncertain. Religion not only responds to questions pointing beyond the empirical but also by stepping out of the world of experience it excludes the possibility of an empirical denial to the reply.

The legitimization demand and capability of religion calls into being increasingly complicated systems of interpretation. Religion and the church, in its institutional representation in increasing levels of individual and social life and even in questions of increasingly minor importance, realizes its "authority", clarifies and sanctifies the existing order. But this also reacts on the church. While it tries to justify the present, it is also tied to a given era. But what is today the present will be the past tomorrow. The most unsuccessful and unrewarding fight of the people's church and cultural religion is the fight with time. (This is one of its basic characteristics as compared to other church types which are more capable of development.) But since all kinds of interpretations are of necessity after the fact, a church, which does not try to propose, evaluate and judge on basis of its own world interpretation but to justify and rationalize the existing world — its main function, as a consequence of its nature — lags behind in its race with social change. The faster the change and the more complicated the inter-relations by which the church wants to exercise its intervention, the more it appears that the interpretation and justification will be late in entering the world that is being formed.

The Relation to Political Power

The most natural comrades of misfortune for a lagging institution are reactionary groups which seek to halt change. These groups grab at the alliance because they will know what kind of social-political role is played by religious institutions — or to put it more simply, by church legitimization, that is, activity justifying and rationalizing the ruling order.

The social (power and force) organization can prevent a significant part of the social conflicts or detour them into an appropriate channel and conduct them, if they appear as a social "order", which is both rational and right. There is an inestimable significance for the state institution in verification, in fact, "surety" independent of the state, or appearing to be so. This service is performed by the state church. As a result of this alliance, the state and ruling system gains a superterrestrial, transcendent basis and guarantee; and the church, on the other hand, gains a social basis and role.

The actual authoritative, economic, political, etc. organizational and personal intertwining of the ruling system and the churches leads to a trend-like agreement between the church world concept and value system and partly to a common consciousness of state and church, more exactly of the ruling class and the church. The church imparts this world concept a divine status, saying that the concrete relations reflect God's will. But as the church institution becomes a law in itself and is separated from its members, and beyond that the veiling of the changed role as it becomes a state church, the attainment of class goals is concealed. A consciousness reflecting and serving the interests of the ruling class, presented as a social consciousness and supported and secured by otherworldly allusions independent of all social influence can appear only as a consciousness of reality, a world concept building on eternal truths.

The degree of relationship and identification between the ruling class and this world concept is a function of how the world concept can be used in concrete questions — thus, for example, in maintaining the "social order." For the wielders of power, this "world concept which is building on eternal truths" is merely a more or less useful fiction. (This is independent of the fact that some members of the ruling class may believe in it.) It is not necessary for the ruling class to believe in the transcendental basis of the culture and world concept — the culture and world concept it defined — in its eternal character and cosmic values. Its position of power and its role in defining social order and culture comprises automatically that power of legitimization which other social groups must take from other sources. That is to say, for the ruling class the understanding of society and hegemony over it appear together. On the other hand, the oppressed classes can be brought to "understand" the existing order of society only with the help of ideologies suited to the situation — and to restrain them from the need for revolutionary changes in the order.

The question of usefulness also glosses over the relationship between the "official representation" of the ecclesiastical institution and the "world concept building on eternal truths." In a state church, in part or to a full extent, the hierarchy also belongs to the ruling class. Hence the world concept, the social, political function of religious consciousness reacts on the social situation of the church institution and the office bearer of the church. In this connection, this is not what is decisive, but rather the fact that the condition for the effective functioning of the church institution, smoothly from the inside and effectively from the outside, is total acceptance and unconditional faith in the represented world concept and world outlook — at least among the propagators and representatives. In contrast to other members of the ruling class, moreover, religious faith for representatives of the church is the rationalized basis of personal existence not only materially or socially but also psychologically. Both as themselves and as a part of the role formulated by society, the ecclesiastics accept, represent and propagate the religious world concept.

This religious, or if we wish theological, faith in the narrow sense of the word, which extends beyond problems and integrates the entire world concept is necessary to keep concealed the alienation of the ecclesiastical organization and the (cultural-) religious consciousness and a certain law-in-itself character deriving therefrom in order that the mechanism of the state church and the people's church can operate smoothly.

In summary, as long as they are led directly by the socio-political interests of the ruling class as a whole in utilizing the world concept, the ecclesiastics will be influenced by a more complex, partly personal and partly social factor system. The relative independence of the ruling class and of the religious consciousness and culture from each other is the basis of the fact that they can use this world concept for manipulative goals. In the case of the ecclesiastics, this independence is lacking, but on the other hand, faith sown in the culture which is building on religion, the rendering absolute of existing relations, and the putting of the world concept before worldly experiences carries the possibilities of irrationalism. Of the two

kinds of ties, the former — although in its social effects it also serves the maintenance of certain given power relations — does not exclude social development; it only subordinates to the interests of the ruling class. The other type, in opposition to the form of tie between ecclesiastical institution and persons and the religious world concept, which characterize the state church-peoples church form stands by its essential nature in opposition to every kind of development.

The two views — that is, power manipulation and religious ideology mythicizing — of a culture regarded as official by the state and made sacred by the church obstructs the full conscious unity of the state and church institution, but it does not change at all the fundamental interest identity. The state and the ruling class need justification, legitimization, and the church needs a social role. The state church-peoples church model under realization before 1945 was adequate to the dual task in that the church functioned as an overall society institution — in every sociological, political and legal meaning of the word.

From State Church Toward the Institution of Oppositional Behavior

The fall of the old order, the development and consolidation of the people's democracy created a new situation for the churches. Since the forces that came to power rejected the social and state system of the past, and in fact as a consequence of the revolution of transformation even denied continuity in basic questions, essential pillars of the ancien regime like the church ceased to be a state church one moment to the next.

Formerly, it worked as the institution of all society, and continued to regard itself as the one missioned institution of morality and the world concept, but the new order did not take this demand into consideration. But the roles that had accumulated in the state church period continued to remain in the hands of the church until they found another carrier in the new system. Until then, the church, through all its individual functions, represented the past in all its organized forms, integrating many different kinds of activity. Thus the state church, on one hand, outlived itself, and on the other hand — exactly because it was able to rescue a part of its earlier institutions and roles — became a church in opposition to state power.

This opposition is in part an organizational endowment, and in part an ideological-political stance — the institution which continued to live for a while under the protecting wings of the church (church organizations, associations, schools, etc.) — in their original forms — simply had no place in a society building then on an increasingly more dogmatic ideology and its political soil. Hence the opposition was basically an antipathy between foreign bodies and their environment.

Despite the "disagreeable" material, political and personal consequences, the churches would have been able to endure the conclusion of their state church role without a significant internal crisis. At the same time, the fact that the social forces at the head of the changes were based in their activities

on a materialist world outlook and a Marxist theory of society was living witness that it was not only the church that could offer a world concept, legitimization, and an interpretative and evaluative system. With this, the social function of the churches became questionable. In the people's church, where the line between the religious and secular sphere was uncertain anyway, there was a particularly dangerous threat that the churches — even in case the liturgical activity continued smoothly — might lose their social importance, and "be left out of" society. Since the Hungarian church — unlike theological thinking and practice in many other countries — was able to think of itself only as a people's church, and since the existence and survival of the people's church actually became questionable, the concrete socio-political relations prompted the churches to active oppositional feelings. (That is, we think that the reason for the opposition of the church institution is to be sought for primarily in itself and only secondarily in a self-defense reaction to abuses — in some years frequent — of religious criticism and atheistic propaganda. It is possible and humanly understandable if these abuses reduced in some persons, chiefly priests, the inclination for cooperation with the official organs of society, but the opposition of the church institution as a whole cannot be justified thereby to an adequate extent.)

The theoretical and ideological bases of the church's opposition were that it held its own world concept and Marxism, both as a whole and in its parts, incompatible. (And, on the other hand, bad experiences with the state church's past brought on similar opinions within the left-wing forces as well.) In addition to the actual differences and prejudices on both sides, the obstacle to world concept debates and dialogs on the possibilities for cooperation in everyday life was the Stalin era. But in full knowledge of the secular links of culture-religion, it is very doubtful even if the political power had not been distorted and the concrete interest relations had come about in a different way whether we could conceive of a debate which at least in part could render itself independent of the culture's — the declining culture's — experiences and commitments.

The churches — in accordance with the legitimacies of the institutions — tried to protect and conserve the earlier practice. World concept, cultural, social, political, etc. elements continued to mingle indivisibly in their activity. While they represented the "divine world order", "teaching" or "virtue", they were not able to go beyond the limits of their social consciousness from the departed era — shaped, carried and sanctified by themselves. For this reason and this logic they cast aside and condemned not only the Marxist philosophy of history and society but also the momentary and long-range concrete practice itself of development.

The basic argument that the absolute moral and concrete social order must be defended against change, upheaval and disorderliness gained a human-social dimension which cannot be disregarded in the innumerable small or large personal conflicts of the transformation. The churches to which — in addition to the ruling class — first the bourgeoisie, then the property-owning peasantry stood closest in culture, now observe the practice of class warfare and see that it was precisely these strata that lost their privileged positions.

At the same time they witnessed, as the individual remained inferior to social interests, that the immaturities of the transformation caused unjustified individual damages. When the church represented not only a world outlook but also an independent social political concept, it took on itself at the same time the representation of the particular interests that were without a spokesman, and with this created a much more obvious moral basis for its opposition than before. The possibility for social influence by the churches derived not least of all from the fact that in the process of taking over power, the political and economic spheres were given priority over the cultural sphere, or consciousness. The new world concept and political strategy spreads slowly; it was confronted by a consciousness resting on religious bases, mediated by the full prestige and instruments of the church based permanently on tradition and unified with elements of consciousness reflecting everyday life and experience in an elementary way. This consciousness did not cause any particular surprise to anyone, but partly for that reason it gave a feel of security, and the "common tongue" of social communication. This consciousness was less and less suited to following the changes and processing them subjectively — but it was oriented all the more strongly to the past, which was, however, understandable. Hence by keeping social consciousness in hand to a certain extent, the churches reduced without any particular agitation the spirit of participation in development and cooperation itself.

To summarize it briefly, social change was what brought the churches to a new function and again to a base. The rapidity of change, the conflict of differing interests, the lag of social consciousness behind political realities, etc. all contributed to the fact that for the time being a social group of a size worthy of attention — in some specific questions perhaps the majority of society — did not understand the transformation but placed itself in a waiting or oppositional position. But since in the process of taking over the power, the social and political institutions came increasingly under the control of the new order, the churches became increasingly more important institutions of opposition, and since 1948-1950 the only ones.

Not least of all, it was the oppositional political function of the churches which filled the churches in the 1950's. The faithful followers of the religions — in addition to the pious and those who desire to order their lives on the basis of religious teaching and moral order — came partly from those who regarded the material and social problems and changes as a conflict affecting them personally and they sought for security; and partly from those who lost their ties with development.

The dissatisfied, the opposition and all those who did not find their place in the new order hoped to find in the church the institution which would provide the social framework ordained for their lives beyond their own personal representations, and might even carry the possibility of changing the order which had only then took over power.

The new function and new social base extended the social influence of the churches unconditionally for several years. But it did not bring them to greater independence. Subordinated to the socialist system, that is, they became a function of the lesser or greater faults and problems of the new order under formation.

From the People's Church to the Perimeter of Social Life

In the years of transformation, the church — despite ideological and political tension -- was a people's church and realized its consciousness and culture-forming influence in all of society. The main characteristic of the next development phase was the cracking of the people's church edifice, its falling apart, and thereafter the appearance of the church's new form. The people's church comes to an end paralleled with the homogenous culture. The disruption of the unified world concept, the system of thought and custom — which received a religious framework, sacred legitimization in the people's church — is more or less the direct consequence of social and economic changes.

The more important economic occurrences of the socialist transformation were accompanied by no less important social consequences. Land distribution, the organization of producer farm cooperatives, industrialization and urbanization were followed by extremely large-scale mobility. The flow into the cities began. The ratio of peasantry in the population decreased, the worker ratio increased. In place of the formerly homogenous families, that is, members belonging to the same stratum, there was a constant increase in the number of families where the job character, culture, and class status of husband-wife, parent-child, etc. were different. Kinship and earlier type human relations determine only to a small extent today's mode of thought and behavior. Tradition is able to provide a useful guide only in rare, special instances.

The church as the "guard" of earlier social consciousness and one of the main institutional shapers of culture has arrived at the crossroads in this revolutionary transformation. The earlier attitude, however, determined so much the relationship to it of the state and other social institutions, in fact its own behavior was to such a large extent only a continuation of the past, that we can hardly speak of a choice. As the driving force behind the attitude of the churches — and particularly the Catholic church — the interest relations, the laws of organization and the ideology embracing the two worked together.

Traditional Catholic doctrine has always conceived of the church as consisting of concentric circles. The bishops make up the nucleus, they — the successors of the apostles — are the leaders. The rights of the priests derive from the fact that the bishops commission them. Finally, the "wordly faithful" form only a herd that is led. Thus according to this concept, the church is conceived as a hierarchical organization (this is also true of the protestant churches, although they lack the theory) in which the right of decision and direction is not to be found at the lower level, the flow of information is from the top down. But the changes have affected the model most radically at the lower level, that is, at the level of simple religious people.

The middle level, the priests are less compelled to react to the new situation. The upper level, the bishops, was able to make itself relatively easily independent of the call of the historical transformation. The demand for changes from below upward in the church found itself faced by an ecclesiology (religious doctrine) in which there is no place for approaches, efforts, and demands from bottom to top. The theologically traditional concept of the church of itself not to take the "external world", that is, secular society into account prompted it to immutability and ostrich policies.

Church organization is the embodiment of the above model, but like all organizations it has a certain independence, which in cases where the existence or the nature of the organization is put into doubt makes itself evident in efforts to strengthen the existing forms. The organization, as a limit in this case, obstructed every kind of change, or had a conservative effect.

Finally, the in-church power and interest relations were active driving forces behind both factors. In final analysis, these clung to preserving the status quo, to maintaining the appearance of the people's church, the traditional theology, and the paternalistic church model. The general cause for this type of clinging is that for the power every change is frightening because of the uncertainty latent therein. The other specific cause is perplexity over the demand to end the state church and take away privileges — a defensive attitude forced on it by a social-historical change of eras occurring independently of its influence; as well as the unusual situation wherein — in contrast to the former position of power — it (should have) needed to realize every innovation by way of discussion with the state, or non-church institutions.

Despite sticking with the trodden path, the organization and its long tradition, and the long successful church doctrine — no matter how understandable this was — the social role and influence of the church declined rapidly. While it made tremendous efforts to assure inner permanence, the world around it changed. The social groups which took on the representation of its interests disappeared in large part — died out, were absorbed by other strata, or their situation was settled.

Most of society, particularly the young, look with disbelief both on the ruins of the former alignment and on a church organization and world concept which is divorced from reality.

The large-scale decline in the social relevance of the church and the number of believers follows the polarization of the sections that regard themselves as religious people. In wake of the general development, the traditional mode of thought and forms characteristic of (official) church life are splitting increasingly under the developing demands, both among religious people and in religious questions.

As the churches were forced to the periphery of social-political life, the criterion of identification with official church practice becomes increasingly the abstention from "lay" life. This organization satisfies those who were unable or did not want to keep apace, who use the church as a substitute for society.

But since in this way the church silently renounces the demand of universality, which still characterized the people's church, and since it raises the old form in teachings and organization alike — and is capable of an appropriate interpretation of the age, and in fact partly of change — above substance, the sectarian properties also appear.

The other half of the religion section is formed by those who strive to encounter and harmonize the new and newer problems of the transformation and their own religious consciousness and behavior.

The growth of this group is documented by the fact that the change does not come to an end with a decline in the social relevance of the traditional church institution and with the church's "withdrawl" from society. In the next stage the transformation will occur within the church. Today the question is whether that process will continue in which the organization is losing its strength, importance and function. An alternate possibility would be for the demands of concrete social reality to be stronger than the model we are accustomed to (or generally in the strength of the custom). In other words, this would mean that the institution would take into account, to a greater extent than now, the given situation, characteristics and development of society.

6691
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HUNGARY

RAILROAD ELECTRIFICATION PROGRAM DESCRIBED

Budapest MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 13 Feb 77 p 25

[Article by Istvan Jeno Szatmari: "From Kando to Kelebia"]

[Text] Electricity as an energy carrier was first used in transportation with the internal combustion engine, and its long-range prospects are much more encouraging. Now, is this was true of public road transportation, it is true of rail transportation to a highly increased degree. The first electric locomotive was shown by the Siemens firm in 1879 at the Berlin World's Fair. And the first electric train which was non-local or more than merely urban was started in 1899 in Switzerland.

People had not yet even dreamt of the diesel locomotive, for even automobiles were in the experimental stage. And today, when the number of diesel and electric locomotives on the world's railway lines are approximately the same (steam traction is only a memory almost everywhere), both energy management and technical causes attest that the future belongs to electric locomotives. It accelerates better and more easily, has a longer life, does not make as great demands on the roadbed, can pull a heavier trainload; all these advantageous amply make up for the additional costs that go with cable and track construction.

Before World War I

All this has been taken into account at MAV [Hungarian State Railways]. Today, 1,205 kilometers of Hungarian railways are electrified, that is 15.4 percent of the total, but more than one-third of the main lines. Of course, the Hungarian railroad has come a long way from the narrow-gauge first electrified line extending from the pre-war Temesvar environs to the Tatra.

On small lines, direct-current locomotives were operated. Then railroad transportation was revolutionized by the invention of the important Hungarian scientist, Kalman Kando, who made the 50-phase, 16-kilovolt alternating current useful for the driving of induction motors with the help of a phase converter. Regular traffic between Budapest and Komarom started in Hungary with Kando locomotives in 1932, and later this line was extended to Gyor and Hegyeshalom.

Today a 25-kilovolt current flows everywhere in the railroad cables. A few years ago this was not the case. The electric trains were going strong on their runs to Miskolc when along the entire Hegyeshalom line it was necessary to transform the electrical equipment from 16 kilovolts uniformly to 25 kilovolts. Thus these are electrified lines that meet international standards and fit into the international railroad federation's trunk network.

It is true there are many who remember that because of "some kind" of difference the Austrian electric trains could come only up to a certain point at Hegyeshalom, and the Hungarian engines also could go no further. But this difference is not only in voltage but also in phase — on the Austrian, FRG and Swedish lines it is 16 and two-thirds while for other European countries — including Hungary the electrified lines operate on a 50-phase current.

In recent years, the press has carried stories of various line completions, jobs, and plans. Therefore, even the newspaper reader with the best memory can be confused as to how many electrified lines are there, in fact, and where are the new ones now being built. (It would do no harm to know that there are some short electrified lines of which no one knows except the people living in the vicinity.)

It is worthwhile to examine the status of the electrified railroad lines. In Transdanubia, the most important one is the Budapest-Komarom-Gyor-Hegyeshalom line. This is at the same time the oldest and one of the most traveled — export trade with the West is conducted via this line also. But this is not the only Transdanubian railroad line above which there is an electric cable. Tatabanya is also linked to Oroszlany by an electric line, and next year the branch of the Hegyeshalom line to Rajka will be completed to the CSSR border station.

In the northern part of the country, electric trains travel from Sturovo to Budapest via Szob and Vac. The northern countries are also touched by the main electrified line of Budapest-Hatvan-Miskolc-Nyiregyhaza-Zahony by means of which trains pulled by electric locomotives run from the Soviet to the Austrian border. A branch of this line runs from Fuzesabony to Eger, also on an electrified line; and an electric railroad also goes from Miskolc to Diósgyör, and to the metallurgically important Sajoececske.

Via Budapest

Zahony can also be reached another way on an electric train — by way of Cegled, Szolnok, Debrecen, Nyiregyhaza. Two electrified lines also lead to Szolnok, one touching not on Cegled but Ujszász. (It is worth noting that Ujszász, Cegled, Vac, Hatvan, Komarom — the main lines of "commuter traffic" into the capital city — are all electrified.) On the main line between Miskolc and Debrecen, from Hatvan to Ujszász, there is also an electrified line. This is important not only because of the link but because when the CSSR border-Salgotarjan-Hatvan section is completed, it will be possible to despatch electric trains, bypassing the crowded Budapest stations, in another important transit direction, toward the CSSR or Romania. That is to say, after Szolnok the next most important electrified main line leading to Romania branches off at Szajol via Bekescsaba to Lokoshaza.

The list of completed electrified lines is concluded by the Budapest circular railway and the line to the Soroksar street station, to which this year we added the electrification of the Fenyeslitke-Eperjeske line. The latter place is the second large Soviet-Hungarian transit station after Zahony.

What next? In the Fifth Five-Year Plan, we are electrifying new lines. A new direction will branch off the Miskolc line from Nyekladhaza to Leninvaros, the construction of which is justified by traffic expected from the chemical combine. Among the main lines leading to Yugoslavia, we shall first electrify the Budapest-Tass-Kiskunhalas-Kelebia line. Several weeks ago, work started here on the middle station at Fulopszallas. From here the lines will run in two directions — on Railroad Workers Day in 1978 they will reach Budapest at the Soroksi road, and in the other way Csengod. According to plan, the entire line will be completed by 1979. (Here at present, diesel engines are being operated, but the growing traffic could have been conducted only by "hitching" two diesels on longer trains. One electric train will pull the same load "smoothly.")

The electrification of the above-mentioned line between Hatvan and the CSSR border is justified by the fact that it will finish electrification of all tracks in the Hatvan area, and as a consequence it will not be necessary to build the Hatvan diesel locomotive workshop which would have required a large investment.

Rapid electrification of railroads is also justified by many factors in Transdanubia. But many factors also hamper it — in addition to material problems, the difficulties in building the tunnel at the Southern Railroad Station. (Attempts are being made to overcome this problem.) Also there is the problem of the narrow electrification-construction capacity of 350 kilometers every 5 years. Moreover, the existing diesel engine pool must be used up. (It is true that these diesels will be useful also for replacing the old 520 steam engines.) On the other hand, the other main line leading to Yugoslavia stresses the need for work either toward Dombovar-Gyekenyes, or the Balaton.

But electrification is urgent elsewhere, too; for example, from Puspokladany to Biharkeresztes, that is, from the Debrecen line to the Romanian border. This, too, is an international line, and when the Romanian electrified works begun from Kolozsvar (Cluj) come near the border, this section of line will enjoy a priority right. Between Sajocsege and Ozd, or Felsoszolca and Hidasnemeti the work would be important for building up a unified, electrified network in the Miskolc area as in the above-mentioned area around Hatvan. The finishing of the Cegled-Kiskunfelegyhaza-Szeged line would also be justified particularly because with the Kiskunfelegyhaza and Kiskunhalas tie, the Soviet-Yugoslav transit traffic via the Kelebia line now being built would go all the way on electric lines, bypassing Budapest.

Commuter Trains

Finally, since we have been speaking of locomotives, what kind of electric locomotives travel on MAV lines? The good old, gray V-40 Kando locomotives

were removed after several decades of service, the last 36 in 1966. And we are slowly removing the Ward-Leonard type, domestically manufactured V 41 and V 42's. We most frequently encounter the usually blue-colored, 3,000-horsepower, silicium rectifier type Ganz-MAVAG engines which carry the designation V 43. But two units of V 63 are also already in operation — these are domestically manufactured, with 5,000 horsepower, thyriston control. The performance of these engines can later be increased to 7,000 horsepower, and thus are usable to the year 2000.

The drawings for another new type are still on the planning board — the electric commuter — motor train will have 6-8 coaches, and passengers can also be carried in the motor coaches, similar to the "elektrichkak" in Moscow or Warsaw, the suburban electric trains. Its role will be important primarily on the above-mentioned commuter lines, where by use of present trains the work-home commuter time can hardly be shortened. They plan to begin making these in 1985. When this, too, will be in wide use, 80-90 percent of the more important lines of the Hungarian railways will be operated with modern electric trains.

6691
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POLAND

POLISH SCOUT UNION ACTIVITIES OUTLINED

Progress Report

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 18 Jan 77 pp 1,2

[Text] According to plan the 49 troop instructor conferences of the ZHP [Polish Scout Union] began in December in Katowice and finished in January in Gdansk. They came to an end, the first stage of the campaign, before the Sixth Congress of March of this organization of nearly 3 million members. Elections were held for 1,000 delegates who will take part in the congress negotiations.

This is the necessary news information, but obviously the importance of each of the conferences goes far beyond the framework determined by the organizational statutes and plan of preparations for the Sixth ZHP Congress.

Actually the voivodship conferences were preceded by general discussions in all squads and tribes, gmina squad and troop associations and student and worker instructor circles. During these discussions, on the basis of the Program Reporting Topics, a concrete program for all union links was developed. It can also be said that the work of the basic ZHP links is of fundamental importance, because the success of the organization depends upon their role and importance in the community.

The ZHP program of activity for 1977-1981, formed on the basis of a balance in expiring tenures, contains tasks in the area of the ideological education of children and youth, originating in the resolutions of the Sixth and Seventh PZPR Congresses and the Polish Youth Congress. Of the many matters which were mentioned during the voivodship conferences, two groups of problems deserve special attention.

This is the first ZHP ideological education organization for the young Pole. For this reason a special obligation rests upon the union. Here, in units and squads, millions of boys and girls acquire their social experience, learn to get involved, and at the same time develop a reasoned patriotism and feeling of internationalism, of activity and of leadership

in social work and science. The ZHP, being a strong link in the FSZMP [Federation of Socialist Unions of Polish Youth], must answer the question as to how best and most effectively to teach, how to increase its effect upon all of the youth in school. These were the topics most often discussed during the voivodship conferences.

During the course of the current program discussion, the ZHP also took up a subject which until now has been a rather rare subject of union interest. However, if the ZHP wishes to be an organization in which every young person can find an answer to questions bothering him, its program cannot skip over matters of greatest importance for each person at a given moment. Therefore a demand arose in the Topics, as well as during many discussions, for the organization to incorporate reasonable trade preorientation, so that on the one hand it can encourage youth to choose the trades most necessary for the national economy and on the other hand meet the individual interest of youth and use it fully for the benefit of our economy. This will be one of the basic directions of ZHP activity in the coming period. The current pre-congress campaign is also the occasion for individual squads and tribes to take on additional obligations. Thus, there is nationwide action now in collecting scrap metal and secondary raw materials, and social work in favor of the community and of the Children's Health Center which is fostered by the ZHP. Before we finish our news item, let us also note that this competition throughout Poland was initiated by the Tribe for the Study of Preschool Education in Chelm.

Chief Council Meeting

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 17 Nov 76 pp 1,2

[Text] The years since the Fifth ZHP Congress, which took place in 1973, have brought essential changes in the polish youth movement, beginning with the establishment of the FSZMP. The Polish Youth Congress of last year defined a uniform program of activity for integrated youth organizations.

This was also a period of particular intensification of changes in Polish education. These very facts determine the directions of further ZHP activity. It may in general be said that its program is the result of the most important socioeconomic tasks of the country, expressed concretely in the Resolutions of the Seventh Party Congress and the Third and Fourth Plenary Assemblies of the PZPR Central Committee.

The Plenary Assembly of the ZHP Chief Council, debating on 16 November in Warsaw, began a discussion on improvements in the union after the Fifth Congress of the organization and on program directions for 1977-1981.

Jerzy Wojciechowski, the ZHP leader, gave the address introducing discussion at the Plenary Assembly.

Among other things he said, "We are beginning a program and organizational campaign before the Sixth ZHP Congress, thus a wide, universal discussion on all levels of the organization. It must include the advice of scout tribes and squads in elementary school, squads of the HSPS [Scout Service for Socialist Poland], instructor circles working in Gmina Squad Unions, Troop Headquarters and Patrol Headquarters. These discussions must also include the Worker, Military and Student Instructor Circles. We shall also be very happy if the workers of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] and of the SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students], of our entire FSZMP, would join in the stream of our pre-congress discussions of our scout work.

During the pre-congress discussions we wish to formulate a program of ZHP activity for 1977-1981 on the basis of the balance of expiring tenures, a program containing tasks in the area of ideological education of children and youth, stemming from the resolutions of the Seventh PZPR Congress and defined by the Polish Youth Congress.

Even today there is no doubt that at the Sixth Congress we shall be able to have a ceremonial reception of the 3,000,000th scout into the ranks of our organization. An organization with three million members is an organization quantitatively different from that which we have been accustomed to so far. Despite the many faults which we are aware of, our improvements in the expiring term have produced good scouting on balance. But what should be done to make it even better?

We must all answer this question. It is not easy to give a simple answer, because requirements and expectations in regard to the organization are increasing and will continue to increase every day.

These include a strengthening of youthful ideology, the requirement for a party ideological and educational strategy, full understanding and realization of patriotism, as understood today, and of a feeling of internationalism on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology, and an understanding of the class evaluation of social phenomena, plus a comprehensive approach to the problems of philosophical outlook and socio-political knowledge.

The problem of our active presence in the school, in the place of the most important work in this period of life of our pupils, in the place of study and of acquiring a trade, winds through the majority of tasks mentioned in the Topics. Naturally we concentrate our attention primarily on educational affairs, because we would like scouting to be a main source of fulfillment of the motto according to which "life in school should be a school for life."

"Our union has developed in numbers. In working constantly on the quality of activity of all of its links, particularly on the lower ones, it seems to be a matter of principle to use the idea of the leading squad movement as a lever for qualitative changes. Another lever for these changes should be to form HSPS squads and tribes in our organization. An HSPS program,

onstantly richer, more attractive and more politically mature, will give an opportunity to every ambitious secondary school student or student in a technological institute or trade school to fulfill his ambitions. We shall continue to improve and enrich it.

As the first ideological education organization in the life of a young man and as a strong FSZMP link, the ZHP wishes to educate the youngest generation of Poles better and better, and to prepare youth for further active participation in the socialist youth unions and the PZPR ranks. We regard the conscious passage of HSPS squad members to fraternal organizations as a strengthening of the educational process in the youth movement."

A number of the problems presented in the address of Jerzy Wojciechowski were developed in the plenary discussions during which 13 speakers took the floor. For example, Andrzej Axenti from the Katowice Troop spoke about education through work. The rich experience of many troop actions, for example that of the Katowice "Zamonit" or the participation this year of scouts in social action for the Katowice Foundry must not hide the fact that a great deal of work within the framework of squads and tribes is organized in a poor way.

The leader of the Zamosc Troop, Zofia Pilat, presented the experience of the Zamosc scouts in fulfilling the resolutions of the Fourth Plenary Assembly of the PZPR Central Committee. The occupation of farmer should be popularized in squads and troops, profiles of successful farmers should be shown and cooperation should be established with gmina links of the ZSMP.

In these discussions a great deal of attention was devoted to the formation of attitudes in young people. The ZHP program should be attractive, that is, it should arouse the ambitions of youth, satisfy their various interests, and answer many questions, how to live, what values to aim at in life and how to set up a hierarchy of values.

Wieslawa Dabrowska, the leader of the Chelm Troop, read the pre-congress obligation of scouts from the Preschool Education Study tribe in Chelm. The Chelm scouts call upon all tribes and squads in the entire country to take on similar obligations to celebrate the Sixth ZHP Congress.

The Plenary Assembly unanimously adopted a resolution referring to the calling of the Sixth ZHP Congress in the first quarter of 1977 (we are publishing the text of the resolution separately), as well as regulations for election of delegates to the Congress and a program and organizational campaign before the Sixth Congress. The Plenary Assembly confirmed the Program Reporting Topics under the motto of "We are building the tomorrow of socialist Poland today," which will become the basis for the pre-congress discussions.

Among other people the secretary of the FSZMP Chief Council, Mieczyslaw Olbrych, the secretary of the ZSMP Main Administration, Andrzej Koltek, and the vice chairman of the SZSP Main Administration, Eugeniusz Pietrasik, took part in the deliberations of the Plenary Assembly.

Resolution on Sixth ZHP Congress

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 17 Nov 76 p 2

[Text] In conformity with the ZHP Statute (Section 29, point 1) the ZHP Chief Council has decided to convoke the Sixth ZHP Congress in the first quarter of 1977.

The Sixth Congress of the Polish Scout Union:

- Will make an evaluation of the fulfillment of the Resolutions of the Fifth ZHP Congress,
- Will outline the directions of activity of the Organization in the period from the Sixth to the Seventh Congress,
- Will hold an election for the main ZHP offices.

The evaluations and decisions adopted during the pre-electoral campaign and at the Congress itself will refer to the past and future participation of the ZHP in carrying out the Resolutions of the Seventh PZPR Congress, "On the further dynamic development of building socialism, higher quality of work and living conditions for the nation."

The directions for the development of Poland outlined in this Resolution also define the prospects and tasks for the younger generation. In calling on youth, the Party presents it with ambitious tasks in the building of a developed socialist community. These have been embodied in the program of activity of the Polish youth movement adopted by the Polish Youth Congress.

The obligation of forming ideological attitudes in children and youth, the formation of habits of good honest work today and in the future in a society of mature people, and the obligation of advocating matters referring to children and youth in a more complete manner devolve upon the Polish Scout Union, the first ideological education organization in the life of young people.

The goals of the pre-congress campaign are:

1. To make a general analysis of our activity in all the areas of ZHP activity and in all links and channels,
2. To create conditions for increased social activity on the part of all ZHP links, every cub scout, scout and instructor so that it is very visible on the outside, conditions for mobilizing the entire Organization, and presenting the accomplishments, values and capabilities of the ZHP, and,

3. To create a platform for broad, general pre-congress discussion which will be the point of departure for working out the directions of ideological education training of the ZHP during the period up to the Seventh ZHP Congress.

The pre-congress campaign goals formulated in this way will also determine the course and method of preparing for the Sixth Congress. These preparations will take place on the following levels:

Program, making an evaluation of the fulfillment of the Resolution of the Fifth Congress, and preparation of conclusions and proposals for the Congress program for the next term;

Statutory and organizational, holding elections of delegates for the Congress;

Propaganda, popularization and dissemination of the accomplishments of the Organization between congresses; and

Inclusion of the movement of Friends of Scouts in the discussions on the future directions of Union activity.

In connection with the reporting and electoral campaign transferred in 1975-1976 to the troop and patrol authorities and with Resolution No. 17 of the ZHP Chief Council of 23 January 1976 in reference to the further progress of the reporting and electoral campaign in the Polish Scout Union, the ZHP Chief Council resolved:

1. To authorize the Presidium of the ZHP Chief Council to appoint a Congressional Commission which will have the responsibility for substantial preparation of the Congress,

2. To confirm the draft of the Program Reporting Topics presented at the Sixth ZHP Congress after it is supplemented by remarks and demands voiced during discussions,

3. To oblige all troops to hold Troop Instructor Conferences by 15 January 1977 for the purpose of:

Holding general discussions on the draft of the ZHP tasks for 1977-1981, on the basis of a balance of the achievements of the expiring term and the tasks of the Organization stemming from the socioeconomic program of national development,

Election of delegates for the Sixth ZHP Congress.

4. To adopt rules for the election of delegates to the Sixth Congress which will be an appendix to the present Resolution.

5. To convoke the 14th Plenary Assembly of the ZHP Chief Council for:
Accepting the report of the ZHP Chief Council for the Sixth ZHP Congress,
Confirming the draft of the Program Resolution,
Summing up the progress of the program campaign,
Setting the date for the Plenary Assembly to execute the resolutions of
the Presidium of the ZHP Chief Council.

5. To recommend to all Union channels and scouting centers of mass communication an intensification of propaganda activity, both during the pre-congress campaign and during the time of the Congress. The main goal of the propaganda activity is to be popularization of the accomplishments of the Organization in society, its role and function in the ideological and political education of children and youth, and inspiration for broad discussions on the prospects of development and the directions of future ZHP activity.

Execution of the present Resolution is committed to all Union Channels, and supervision and control over its current realization is committed to the Headquarters of the Polish Scout Union.

Warsaw, 16 November 1976

ZHP Chief Council

Friends of Scouts Activities

Jelenia Gora GAZETA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 26 Nov 76 pp 1-2

[Text] (Our own sources) Yesterday a member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee, Henryk Jablonski, chairman of the State Council was in the Wroclaw Voivodship. In the morning Prof H. Jablonski, who is the chairman of the Main Council of the Friends of Scouts, took part in a meeting of the Voivodship Council of Friends of Scouts, and in the afternoon he met with the active socioeconomic cadre of the voivodship in the building of the PZPR Voivodship Committee. During his visit the chairman of the State Council became acquainted with the most important problems of the Wroclaw region.

The meeting of the Voivodship Council of the Friends of Scouts took place in the ZHP Central Instructors School in the restored Piastowski Castle in Olesnica. Members of the WRPH [Voivodship Council of Friends of Scouts] very cordially invited Prof Henryk Jablonski to the discussions, which were also attended by the chairman of the Main Committee for Physical Culture and Tourism, Boleslaw Kapitan, the Wroclaw Voivodship Director, Zbigniew Nadratowski and the deputies of the ZHP leader, Blandyna Kuchczynska and Kazimierz Setlak.

The WRPH chairman and secretary of the Party Voivodship Committee in Wroclaw, Maria Markiewicz, discussed the activity of the council up to now and the main directions of work in the coming period. She stressed that the Friends of Scouts movement provides the ZHP organization with many kinds of aid in its educational activity in the youth community in elementary and high schools. The councils of Friends of Scouts currently operating in 38 cities and gminas of the voivodship participate actively in preparing scout activity which promotes great educational results.

In the discussion the WRPH members shared their experiences in every day activity and cooperation with patrols, gmina squad unions and scout tribes. With a great deal of attention the participants listened to Henryk Jablonski's address, giving information about the high esteem held by the Wroclaw Friends of Scouts movement, currently recognized in the Main Council as one of the most energetic in Poland. Its activity makes it possible to form conditions enabling the proper and many-sided development of youth. Prof H. Jablonski stressed that the basic goal in the complex process of educating the younger generation should be to arouse emotional bonds between children and youth and the ideology of the party, the inculcation of patriotism, of feeling of respect for law, the cult of work and of efficiency in work, and the creation of unfettered possibilities for the many-sided development of the interests of youth. The social activity of the members of the Friends of Scouts movement has a very wide range and to a large extent determines whether the chosen directions of educational work will bring the expected benefits. H. Jablonski stated that the Wroclaw WRPH had already acquired valuable experience in this area and should expand it.

After the WRPH meeting the chairman of the State Council visited the ZHP Central Instructors School, acquainted himself with the conditions and program of teaching the students of the younger generation and, at the end of his visit in the Piastowski Castle in Olesnica, met with a group of scout instructors.

In the afternoon the member of the Political Bureau of the PZPR Central Committee, the Chairman of the State Council Henryk Jablonski, met in the building of the PZPR Voivodship Committee with the active socioeconomic cadre of the Wroclaw Voivodship. The meeting was chaired by Janusz Siezieniewski, the secretary of the party Voivodship Committee. A member of the PZPR Central Committee, the first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Wroclaw, Comrade Ludwik Drozdz, presented problems contained in questions asked earlier by the active voivodship cadre. In replying to these questions Comrade Henryk Jablonski discussed the key problems currently occupying the party and government leadership, and presented the main assumptions of the economic plan for next year. The member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and chairman of the State Council cordially thanked the economic and party workers of the Wroclaw Voivodship for past achievements. He also wished them satisfaction and success in work for the benefit of the further socioeconomic development of our country.

ROMANIA

WRITER WARNS OF MISUSE OF PSYCHIATRY

Bucharest VIATA ROMANEASCA in Romanian No 10, Oct 76 pp 40-44

/Article by Ion Vianu: "Psychiatry, Antipsychiatry and Hyperpsychiatry"/

/Text/ Until recently psychiatry had a clear conscience. Everything in its professional conduct that conformed to the well-established scientific canons was moral. There was no question that its effect could be in any way harmful. True, there were occasional, isolated protests both from the medical camp and from that of the patients. For instance H. Baruk, a well-known French psychiatrist, wrote in his "Treatise" in 1959:

"The attitude toward electric shock varies greatly according to the hierarchy of values entertained in the subject's personality. For some, pain and suffering are the one thing to be avoided, whereas consciousness and life itself can have a value inferior to pain for such subjects. In these cases the patients prefer the pain of loss of consciousness ... and they feel death is preferable to suffering. But for other subjects consciousness is the supreme good and loss of it is a momentary drama that suggests death, the supreme and dreadful drama. The cult of life and consciousness then envisages the electric shock as a kind of dreadful assault suggesting electrocution." (Vol II, p 794)

In 1924-1925, when the surrealist poet and playwright Antonin Artaud was given some primary psychiatric treatments (milder to be sure than those they had to maintain in an asylum between 1937 and 1946), he wrote to his doctor:

"There is one point on which I should like to insist: It is a question of the significance of the thing upon which your injections act, this essential relaxation of my being, this decline of my mental output, which does not mean, as it might be believed, any impairment of my morality (my moral spirit) or of my intellect even but, if you will, of my utilizable intellectuality and thinking powers, and it has several relationships with the way I feel about myself rather than with what I indicate to others.

"This is a mute and multiform crystallization of thought that takes its form at a given point. There is an immediate and direct crystallization of the ego in the midst of all possible forms and all modes of thought.

"And now, doctor, when you feel well informed as to what can be done for me (and cured by drugs) at the critical point in my life, I hope you can give me the amount of fine liquids, specifics and mental morphine that can remedy my decline, stabilize what is falling, join what is separated and restore what is destroyed.

"Best wishes."

These two texts, however far apart they may seem in style and inspiration, yet raise the same questions. On the one hand the psychiatrist who takes the trouble to consider the moral problems presented by his actions discerns, beyond the context of the classification of diseases, the apprehension or appeal that the patient expresses. And on the other hand the mental invalid (in this case an artist of sensibility and subtle discriminatory intelligence, but any patient can ask himself the same questions even if less explicitly) feels that the psychological help he receives contains a great danger but also the only possible source of equilibrium. Hence the psychiatrist is not unequivocal in his action but may be both helpful and harmful. It is characteristic of the evolution of scientific ideology in the sixth, seventh and eighth decades of this century to have urgently raised these questions and to require the practitioner to answer them clearly, taking a firm stand.

As far as it is concerned, antipsychiatry at least presents a clear policy if not a constructive viewpoint. It categorically denounces what it regards as a supreme form of tyranny, namely the alienation of alienation. It maintains that the individual has the right to pursue the psychotic "trip" to the end even if he runs the risk of not returning, dying or remaining in the world of his fantasies forever. Need we say that from our point of view this is an anarchistic position, analogous to doctrines of the hippie type and irreconcilable with the humanist-Marxist conception of the continuing development of human nature? We definitely contrast the temptation to subside into the dizzying poetry of our madness with the equally seductive temptation of the real. Mastery of objective reality, that complex fabric woven and evolved in the almost uncontrollable (but solely interesting) context of interpersonal relations (from the small group with which the individual comes into direct contact to the social macrostructures wherein the contact is indirect), strikes us as the sole purpose that the mature individual who is master of himself should pursue. Even if this mastery of social relations (impossible without mastery of oneself) proves difficult for the psychiatric patient, it is still the aim he should pursue. In the most general terms, psychiatry should be and is only an introduction to the real.

It is equally true that the way to the real is not always direct. Perhaps it is here that traditional psychiatry, constructed and petrified in hard and fast categories, has erred in the name of a certain medical imperialism. In trying to suppress the morbid structure from the start and with no circumventions, the psychiatrist overlooks the fact that the resolution of the psychopathological mechanism must follow certain definite laws. To make a broad comparison, it is like trying to dismantle an automobile engine by smashing it with a hatchet. The appearance and development of psychotherapy resulted in some progress in this respect, in that application of the comprehensive method produced some systematic demonstration of the same mechanisms. Later on, social psychiatry came

to try to place psychopathological suffering in the context of professional, family, microgroup and macrogroup relations, with an effectiveness temporarily limited by the complexity of the study. Biological therapy (by shock or drugs) is not distinctive in this respect because it is merely an instrument in the hands of the user. If we adopt a curative strategy of the abrasive type for the sole purpose of relieving the most serious symptoms, we shall often achieve our purpose, but we overlook the fact that the ideal purpose cannot be that of producing a less disturbing pathological state but the progressive one of re-storing the patient to the world in the process of his natural and human development. Psychiatrists today do not have this objective clearly enough in mind.

Therefore we can say that alongside the antipsychiatric excess that denies one man (called a psychiatrist) the right to intervene in the psychological development of another (designated as a patient), we often commit (and often with the best intentions) the opposite excess for which we suggest a new term, namely hyperpsychiatry. Some features of the hyperpsychiatric attitude have already been brought out in the foregoing, in an unsystematic way. We still have to define some of the conditions to be observed to prevent abusive treatments in the sense of therapeutic approaches which, accidentally or deliberately, block the progress of the individual and his legitimate tendency to obtain more objective or subjective freedom. This actually means determining a psychiatrists's right to administer therapeutic means to his patient and also to measure the strength and intensity of the means he uses.

1. The first rule should be that of treatment whenever the patient requests it. In this case we are conforming to an ancient requirement whereby the physician shall not deny a request for medical aid. The number of those in need of psychiatric help is increasing in modern society, wherein other avenues of confession (and relief through confession) are increasingly restricted. It is true that the psychiatrist by the nature of his role does not and cannot offer a positive code of living or a guiding moral principle. As long as the doctrine of psychiatry is based upon study of disturbed mentalities, no morality can be derived from it. Perhaps it will produce one in the future, if it succeeds in demonstrating that the morbid structures themselves, despite their deformities, have a source in common with all human creations or, in other words, that there is a poetry of madness, deeper than the madness itself, in the deepest center of spiritual ingenuity. The psychic is a great factory of structures that appear in the world of phenomena both in the disorder of suffering and in the world of artistic creation. And it may be possible to convert one to the other. But this is an ambitious, maximal program which we can only contemplate today. For the time being, psychiatry (and psychotherapy primarily among all psychiatric procedures) is only a remedy for morbid prejudices that provides the individual solely with a positive anxiety for his freedom and some points of departure such as those of identification, the struggle against depression and liberality.

a. By identification we mean the necessity for anyone to relate to a basic human model. For an individual raised under happy conditions this human model is the parental one. But it may be lacking because the father and mother were weak, confused in their traits of character, or absent. In this case the therapist must not hesitate to set himself up as a model and try to present

the subject lost in his aspirations with a "strong form" (to employ the terms of Gestalt psychology) to which he may adhere in a belated effort toward emotional and intellectual organization.

b. The struggle against depression would be a second basic principle which, like the first one, has no positive content but is only a point of departure for a future enlightenment. Essentially we can call the depression a lack of perspective as to the passage of time. To the depressive, its duration appears petrified in the present. He feels that he can no longer overcome the present impasse and that the future is nothing but an indefinite repetition of the same situations as the present ones with all their disadvantages. It is not so much the feeling that he is in an impasse (an inescapable situation), but that the situation in its present form will be subject to a perpetual and infinitely tedious repetition. Any means (pharmacological, psychotherapeutic) is good that will restore to the individual the lost feeling of fluidity and perception of the future as a development and not as stagnation.

c. And finally, the third principle would be liberality. The purpose of any psychiatric treatment is to suggest that seclusion in a purely subjective problem is a blind alley of existence. Only a fresh view taken of the world of others and a beneficial contact with the neighbor's reality can provide an interest in reality, without which the individual remains in the foggy world of the imaginary and in his morose and inescapable meditation. To be sure this interpersonal world can bring mischief, resentment and general rejection. But it is a chance and the only chance, and therefore the risk is worth taking.

Henceforth, after an identity, a serenity that develops an individual, and a liberality have been acquired, the adventure of a "healthy" existence begins. For a time the psychiatrist does not know how to guide the person who has consulted him for the moment any further.

2. The multiple forms of the human tragedy and the perpetual corruption of individual freedom by disease and suffering may place a psychiatrist in the position of treating persons who do not intend to be treated and/or are deliberately opposed to his care. He cannot decline this task, because the patient placed in his care, like a child or one who has lost his authentic subjectivity and become an automaton as if by magic, no longer is "responsible" for his actions, to use a verb familiar to legal terminology, and this is the closest point of contact between psychiatry and the legal sciences. But there is no question that the psychiatrist cannot and must not consent to treat a patient against his will at any time or under any circumstances. Consequently it is necessary to draw up a well-justified list of pathological situations in which the authorities can and must intervene.

a. The first and most important pathological category that must be subject to medical treatment is disturbance of awareness. A delirium tremens patient who has lost his space-time orientations and perceives terrifying fantasies that turn upon him must and can be helped by psychiatric therapy. It is not only a question of the clarity of his mind: He is in a limited life situation, and his very survival depends upon the promptness and accuracy of the therapeutic approach. But even under analogous circumstances, wherein life is not

endangered, the obligation remains the same as long as the sense of responsibility and the will are annihilated by alteration of the basic standards for recognition of reality. There is only very limited space for discussion here.

b. We must be equally categorical about another class of patients, whose reasoning capacity is or has been reduced far below the acceptable level for a normal adult because of an extrinsic effect upon the psyche either at the beginning of life or in the course of it. The informed reader will realize that we are referring here to profound oligophrenes and demented persons. But as contrasted with the preceding paragraph we must make some qualifications: The treatment under the present conditions of therapeutic development is one of mere protection and will consequently be confined to minimal measures. The psychopedagogic measures to improve the performances of the oligophrenes are an exception, but we shall not discuss them because they go far beyond the medical field properly speaking. On the other hand we should discuss the occasional occurrence of an individual whose intelligence has declined somewhat because of age or pathological factors (arteriosclerosis for example). Yet these persons can perform perfectly coordinated actions and can never constitute an argument any compulsory psychiatric treatment. Investigation of the biographic antecedents of these "patients" will show that such actions often conform to their constitutional axiological systems and have nothing in common with involution.

c. Delirious patients constitute a third category. The difficulty of defining delirium is well known in psychopathology. The most accessible and most "functional" definition will describe delirium as an imaginary experience which, on the one hand, loses its imaginary quality when the attributes of the real are suddenly or gradually acquired and, on the other hand, conceals the individual's previous existence by means of its psychological import and becomes a single pole around which all or most of his ideas and tendencies gravitate. A typical hyperpsychiatric view that we must point out here to preserve the dignity of psychiatry is the one to the effect that persons obsessed by an idea and whose actions are increasingly controlled by this idea are delirious. This is the psychological definition of prevalence. But prevalence is not included in the structure of delirium properly speaking unless it is accompanied by the above-mentioned quotient of phantasy and delusion, and it is only under those circumstances that the question of compulsory treatment for delirium can arise. But to be quite clear, we hasten to add that not even with these qualifications is the situation as plain as it is in the cases of disturbances of awareness, oligophrenia or dementia. Delirium is an edifice, a combination of symptoms that have developed through the concurrence of a certain predisposition of the psychic constitution and an urgent need arising from determined biographic circumstances. A patient is delirious because he cannot be otherwise. Therefore we must ask ourselves what right we have to destroy the delirium, or in other words how shall we invite a delirious patient to the system of the real whose ambassadors we have appointed ourselves. Accordingly the treatment of a delirious patient first requires a *captatio benevolentiae*, which does not prove as impossible as a layman would be inclined to believe, since the delirious world is nightmarish and just as the duration of the nightmare is one long effort to awaken, despite the concomitant figment developed from the subjective data of the dreamer, so can we discern in the delirious patient the obscure,

surreptitious wish to abandon his rich but terrifying system to regain a more serene even if disenchanting area. It is the duty of the psychiatrist to attempt the impossible in order to make the delirious patient take the return road. That is the only opportunity we can offer him to make his return to reality complete and constructive.

d. Yet we cannot gainsay the sad record of insanity in the world: The mental invalid, because of his affliction, may commit serious crimes bringing suffering upon himself and his associates, such as destruction, suicide and murder. It is not our intention to specify here what the signs are whereby such dangerous actions can be predicted. Justice has its own means of investigating and preventing crimes, and psychiatry as well, in its most repressive aspect, can and must try to prevent such disasters. But if it is not to degenerate into hyperpsychiatry, it will strictly refrain from invading the neighboring fields and will not take the measure of applying compulsory medical treatment except under well-defined circumstances under which the possibility of crime arises from one of the conditions we have tried to specify in Paragraphs a, b and c.

3. The fact that the intensity of his treatments is limited solely by his conscience is the ultimate pitfall of the psychiatrists's authority. I mentioned Baruk's views on electric shock in my introduction to this article. Though many practitioners (including myself) will not agree with them, we must realize that between fear of ineffectiveness and the propensity for radical "treatment," many psychiatrists who are considered conscientious will be tempted to choose the latter. But there is no question that the very intensive treatments (whether by shock methods or by drugs) can alter the nucleus of the personality, sometimes with remote and unpredictable consequences and in any case far exceeding their curative purpose. This intrinsic property is quantifiable neither by doses nor by measurement of the individuals' resistance. In the last analysis it is still a moral problem of the psychiatrist, as well as a touchstone of his refinement as a clinician, how far he will go with therapy and where he will stop.

In my desire to distinguish psychiatry from hyperpsychiatry I may have conveyed to the reader the impression that I have advanced a wealth of antipsychiatric arguments. To balance the account, I have only to say that a totally antipsychiatric attitude is just as dangerous as the hyperpsychiatric one. Let us picture a moment of disorder and the chaos that would result if the mentally ill were allowed to roam at their will. There is no question that society would try to defend itself accordingly. This would mean a terrible regression to a medieval time that Pinel's reform appeared to have removed forever. It is accordingly important to maintain the concept of mental illness to the extent that it warrants. The above lines were intended as a modest contribution to this serious problem.

From the standpoint of the history of science we are living in an age characterized among other things by the expansion of the humanistic sciences into the academic-speculative field. A striking example of this is linguistics, which is advancing today into such highly practical fields as mechanical translation. Psychology and all its allied disciplines are also assuming an overwhelming

importance. It is a matter of the power to manipulate human behavior at will, obtaining from the individual actions and even feelings foreign to his natural evolution or the experiences progressively assimilated from his actual life. Perhaps we are still in a primitive-empirical stage in this regard and the more or less near future has great surprises in store for us. In judging this possibility we must take account of the fact that manipulation of psychology is an extraordinary temptation to the constituted authorities. Chiefly among these considerations we are reminded of Bertolt Brecht's play, "The Life of Galileo." Galileo escaped the Inquisition because he denied his convictions, but he was disgraced and also had to give up his scientific career (out of the necessity for atonement and not from coercion). If the humanistic scientists (as the physicists tried to do in their field) will oppose the immoral use of science, simply by uniting in full solidarity, the power they have cannot be used against man. Let us listen to Galileo: "Now I realize that I have betrayed my mission. I can no longer regard a man who does what I have done as a scientist."

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ROMANIA

DEMOCRATIC NATURE OF CONTROL PROCESS STRESSED

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[Article: "The Function of Control - An Important Lever of Social Administration, A Powerful Expression of Socialist Democracy"]

[Text] The speech given by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu at the opening of the nationwide Conference of Worker Control Units introduced some important specifications into a problem of vital interest to the progress of economic-social activity in our society--the exercise of control over the implementation of the party's decisions and the laws of the state, the good management of socialist property, the ways in which the party's policy of raising the working people's material and spiritual standard of living is put into action. The conclusions and recommendations made on this occasion are of a special importance, not only practical but also theoretical.

In our party's view, control constitutes an important aspect, with multiple functions throughout the general administration of society. In practice, administrative activity primarily implies the working out of a decision, the determination of measures, and then control over the way in which they are applied--these two aspects constituting an indissoluble unity. To ignore this vital connection, to disregard the function of control, is to diminish the efficacy of the act of administration, to place in doubt the finality of the decisions and resolutions. No law, no measure--however reasonable it may be--can enforce itself, can automatically produce the desired effects; in order to ensure full efficacy of the party's decisions, the country's laws, it is necessary to keep watch over the way in which they are put effectively into action.

The general activity of control in our society represents a form by which the broad masses may participate democratically in the administration of the state through involving them in the task of thoroughly studying problems of economic-social development, of finding the optimal methods of application of the decisions of the party and the state and the laws of the country. Control helps to prevent abuses, to combat and eliminate

any illegalities, manifestations of dishonesty, of favoritism. At the same time, control also has an important educative value, both for those over whom control is exercised and for those who exercise control; it ensures strengthened discipline, order, and socialist legality; it cultivates a spirit of social responsibility.

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized, our party views control as an all-encompassing activity. The exercise of it can in no way be considered a manifestation of distrust or an interference in the activities of different sectors. In fact, our socialist society is a unitary social organism having a single master--the working people--in which there does not and cannot exist any kind of "fiefdom" or "closed zone" of people's control. Even in the best collectives or sectors of activity, if control is not exercised there is the risk of getting into a rut, of failure to enforce established measures efficiently or correctly enough, and of the rise of unhealthy phenomena.

It is in the light of the relation between the leading role of the party and the exercise of the functions of the state that the institution of certain mixed party-state agencies of control must be understood.

It was precisely along these lines and in this perspective that worker control was organized over economic and social activity in the years that passed after the Ninth Party Congress, within a vast organizational structure which includes the Central Council, county councils and councils in state economic units, and councils in planning and research institutes, having the task of exercising unitary control over the economy as a whole and its branches, in territorial profile and in each unit, with respect to implementing the economic and social policies of the party and the state and carrying out the party's decisions and laws in the domains of economic-social activity.

One specific feature of the function of control in our society is its democratic character. This characteristic of control derives from the political structure of our society itself, in which all the power belongs to the working people, led by the working class; being socially owned, the means of production, land and mineral resources, and goods of all kinds are administered by collectives of working people from various units and institutes. But, just by virtue of this fundamental reality, the whole society has the legitimate right to thoroughly examine the way in which the property which belongs to it is being administered. By their very capacity--being both producers and owners of the means of production, also consumers--working people have the right and the duty, they are vitally interested in keeping watch over the proper use of the means which society possesses for purposes of bettering overall living conditions.

In the process of improving the whole mechanism of administering social life, the democratic nature of control also has become and is becoming

continuously stronger. If we keep in mind the fact that the functioning of this mechanism entails the method of working out decisions, the framework of their adoption, and control over how they are implemented, it becomes clear that absolutely all the improvements that have been made in all these directions have the same characteristic: the intensification of democratic practice.

As regards the working out of decisions, for example, it is essential to submit laws to public discussion during the drafting stage, to consult with the working people in all important problems having to do with the building of socialism, to organize national meetings and conferences by branches and sectors of activity; as regards the framework of adoption, it is known that the institutionalization of general assemblies of working people to serve as supreme forums for the management of enterprises and the creation of working people's councils and problem commissions have aimed at involving working people more broadly and more systematically in the administration of economic and social life. Naturally and logically, measures for improving control activities are heading in the same direction.

Thus, concomitantly with perfecting the forms of worker control over economic and social activity, in recent years the control exercised by working people has taken on larger scope. In his speech to the nationwide Conference of Worker Control Units, the party's General Secretary, while pointing out the merits and the significant contribution made by this form of control toward eliminating certain shortcomings and improving activity in the most important fields of our social life, also pointed out certain failures and shortcomings as well as courses of action for improving them in the future.

Also important in this regard is the actual change of the name of public control to worker control, a designation which is more consistent with the objectives and character of this control as a form of mass popular participation in administration of the state. At the same time, the process of strengthening democratic practice is strikingly expressed in the necessity of setting up more control units, of broadening their sphere of action, of ensuring their enhanced role in the socialist indoctrination of the masses, in the shaping of a powerful and demanding public opinion with regard to any shortcomings.

Of special importance is the idea stressed in the General Secretary's speech that in addition to organized and institutionalized forms of control, worker self-control should be developed, control exercised by each collective over its own activity, primarily in the factory, in production, where the quality of every product is first created and decided. In fact, it is not necessary to be a member of a worker control unit in order to prevent a product of poor quality from leaving the factory. In the actual production process it is necessary to manifest the spirit of responsibility which working people ought to have in their capacity as consumers and owners of

the means of production. In effect, in this view, along with perfecting the organized forms of control activity, the objective toward which we must aim is for the whole working class, the whole peasantry, the whole intelligentsia to exercise the function of control over the way in which the party's policies and the laws of the state are implemented in their respective domains, to act as demanding controllers of their own activity. Only in this way will they validate their function as active participants in the administration of society, in exercising in the state the authority of the whole people.

Our society today has numerous means of control--state worker control, worker control units, self-control, and the direct control of producers in the production process. What is essential is that all these forms of control be solidly united and function together. At the same time it is necessary that control activity be distinguished above all by high standards and depth of inquiry. Control which is exercised "over" things and "in general," will never succeed in ferreting out real shortcomings and their causes. Conversely, when exercised in depth, taking as its objective all aspects of activity, control becomes not only a lever for eliminating shortcomings but, to an equal extent, an instrument for preventing them before they can take shape.

In our party's view, to exercise control does not mean to "inspect," to list shortcomings, to draw up reports and memos, but, more important than that, to provide effective help in solving problems, to help workers to be efficient. Naturally, this requires the direct presence of those who exercise control in the economic-social units, among the working people. It is exactly for this reason that the party administration has indicated that party and state activists, on all levels, together with those of mass and public organizations, should allocate the greatest part of their work time to going out to counties, municipalities, cities, and communes, to economic and socio-cultural units.

Increasing the efficacy of control substantially requires going back regularly over problems that have been investigated. Life is constantly bringing out new arguments in favor of the idea that only a control which returns time and time again to where the weaknesses are greatest fully achieves its purpose.

At the same time, in order to ensure the best culmination of control activity, it is essential, as was emphasized at the Countrywide Conference of Organizations of Worker Control Units, that the collective management bodies of economic and social units focus more attention on control bodies, facilitate their activity, take their suggestions and proposals into account. All suggestions and proposals by worker control teams must be studied by worker control bodies which have the duty to take measures--to penalize or correct--in accordance with the law.

Of course, control efficacy is also dependent on how well state organs-- commune, city, and county people's councils--provide effective support to control bodies, acting on their suggestions and proposals, in order to eliminate shortcomings and improve activity. Carrying out their role of guiding political force in all domains, party bodies and organizations are also taking up specific responsibilities in successfully developing all control activities.

Acting in the directions proposed by the recent conference on perfecting control in our society, we are implicitly ensuring improved economic-social activity and accelerated general progress along the road to socialism and communism.

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